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SPEECHES
OF
DR. RAJENDRA PRASAD
President of India

13th May 1952—31st December 1954.



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*THE VOW OF SERVICE.

I have just taken the oath of office as President and affirmed my determination to dedicate myself to the service of this great country. As President I stand before you as the sign and symbol of the Republic of India.

In our ancient history we read of republics having been established in different parts of our country and at different times, but their sway was limited to small parts of it and we do not fully know the method of their administration. This is the first occasion when the administration of the entire country has come under the jurisdiction of one great democratic republic. The structure of this republic of ours, as laid down in our Constitution, is broadbased on all the adult men and women of this country. Over 170 millions of them have elected their representatives to carry on the administration and to shape the destiny of India. These representatives have elected me as President and, in so doing they have given now full effect to the Constitution which we made with such labour.

As an individual and a countryman of yours and even more so as a comrade with many of you in the struggle for India's freedom, I am overwhelmed with gratitude for this signal mark of your confidence, but even more than the gratitude, I feel the heavy responsibility and burden of this high office.

The establishment of this democratic republic could only take place after the attainment of Independence. It is therefore the first and most important duty of everyone of us to preserve and protect this freedom which we have secured after generations of struggle and sacrifice. It is our earnest aim to improve and raise the masses of our people, but all our plans for improvement and uplift of the country depend upon the preservation of our

*Address by Dr. Rajendra Prasad on the occasion of his being sworn-in as President of India on the 13th May, 1962.

THE VOW OF SERVICE.

freedom. Our entire life, national or individual, revolves round that basic freedom. It is my duty, as it is yours, to preserve and protect this freedom at all cost.

It will be my first and foremost endeavour in performing this duty to treat all our people belonging to the different parts of the country, to various classes, creeds and schools of thought, with equality and impartiality. Another duty, which I share with you, will be to seek the friendship of all other countries and to find ways of co-operation with them.

My request to all the people of this country is to treat me as one of themselves and to give me the opportunity and encouragement to serve them to the best of my capacity. I pray that God may give me the strength and wisdom to dedicate myself in the true spirit of service to the fulfilment of my duties and responsibilities.

ADDRESSES TO PARLIAMENT

*ADDRESS TO FIRST ELECTED PARLIAMENT.

MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT,—

I welcome you here today as Members of the first Parliament of the Republic of India, elected under our Constitution. We have now given full effect to the provisions of the Constitution, relating to the composition of the Legislatures and the Headship of the State, and thus completed one stage of our journey. Even as we complete that stage, we start on another. There is no resting place for a nation or a people on their onward march. You, Members of Parliament, newly elected by over 170 millions of our people, are the pilgrims who have to march forward in their company. On you rests a unique privilege and a heavy responsibility.

2. As I speak to you on this historic occasion, I have a feeling of the high destiny of our ancient land and the vast numbers of men and women who live in it. Destiny beckons to us and it is for us to respond to its call. That call is for the service of this great land of India, which has passed through good fortune and ill-fortune alike since its story began many thousands of years ago, at the dawn of history. During these many years, greatness has come to our land and tragedy has also been our fate. Now that we stand on the threshold of another phase of India's long story, we have to determine afresh how best to serve her. You and I have taken the oath of service to this country of ours. May we be true to that pledge and dedicate our highest endeavour to its fulfilment.

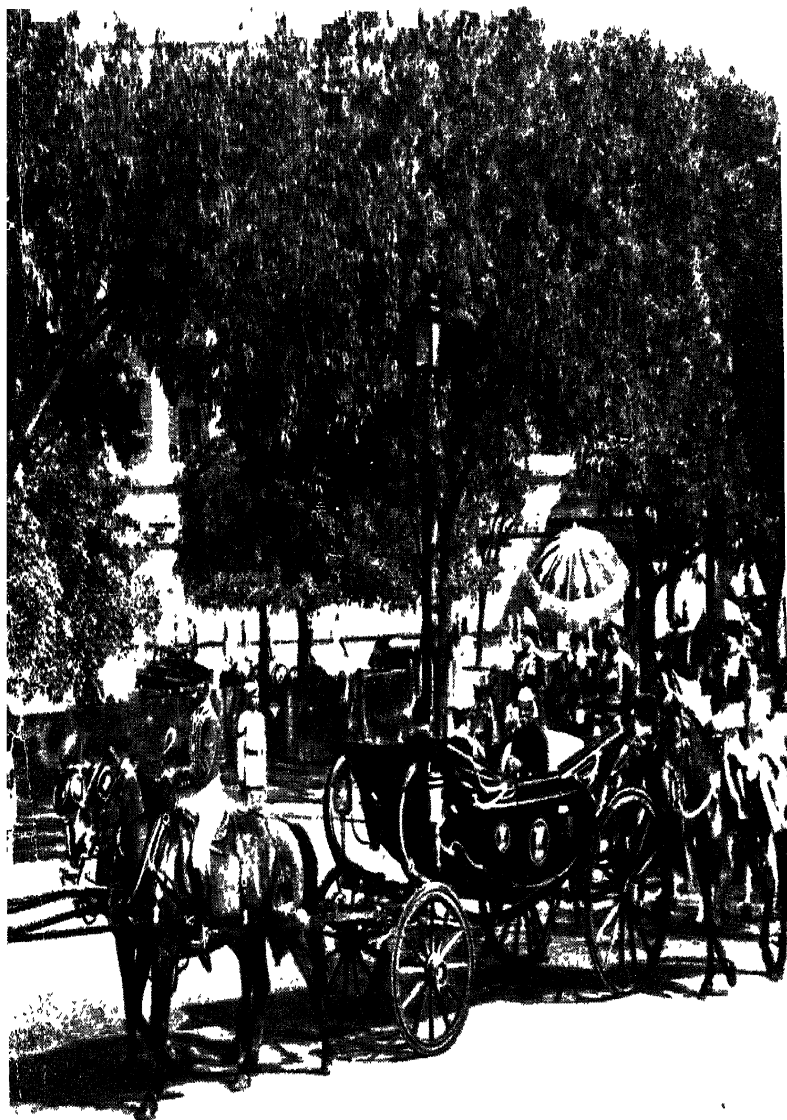
3. India has, after a long period of subjection, gained her freedom and independence. That freedom has to be maintained,

*Address delivered to Parliament by the President of India on 16th May, 1952.

defended and enlarged at all cost, for it is on the basis of that freedom alone that any structure of progress can be built. But freedom by itself is not enough—it must also bring a measure of happiness to our people and a lessening of the burdens they suffer from. It has, therefore, become of vital importance for us to labour for the rapid economic advancement of our people and to endeavour to realise the noble ideals of equality and social and economic justice which have been laid down in our Constitution.

4. India has represented throughout her history certain other urges of the human spirit. That has, perhaps, been the distinguishing mark of India, and even in recent years we saw a noble example of that ancient spirit and urge of India in the form of Mahatma Gandhi, who led us to freedom. To him, political freedom was a vital step, but only a step to the larger freedom of the human spirit. He taught us the way of peace and non-violence, but not the peace of the grave or the non-violence of the timid. And he taught us, in line with the teachings of India's ancient sages and great men, that it is not through hatred and violence that great ends are achieved, that right ends must be pursued and achieved only through right methods. That is a basic lesson not only for us of India but, if I may venture to say so, for people throughout the world.

5. I earnestly trust that, in the great tasks that face us, you will remember this ancient and ever-new message of India and will work in a spirit of co-operative endeavour, placing the cause of the nation and of humanity above all lesser objectives. We have to build up the unity of India, the unity of a free people working for the realisation of the high destiny that awaits them. We have, therefore, to put an end to all tendencies that weaken that unity and raise barriers between us, the barriers of communalism, provincialism and casteism. Opinions will and must differ in regard to many political and economic matters, but if the good of India and her people is our dominant urge and we realise, as we must, that this good can only be



President driving in State to Parliament House

achieved through the methods of peaceful co-operation and democratic processes, then these differences can only add to the richness of our public life.

6. It is with this outlook that I beg of you to face your problems here in this country and to face the world with friendly eyes and without fear. Fear today, fear of some approaching disaster, darkens the world. It is not through fear that the individual or the nation grows, but through fearlessness, *abhaya*, as our ancient books told us.

7. We have consistently pursued a policy of friendship with all the countries of the world and that policy, though sometimes misunderstood, has been progressively appreciated by others and is yielding fruit. I trust that we shall firmly continue that policy and thus try to lessen somewhat the tension that exists in many parts of the world. My Government has not sought to interfere with other countries just as it does not invite any interference from others in our own country. We have tried the method of co-operation wherever possible and our good offices are always available to further the cause of peace. We have no desire to thrust them on anyone. We realise, however, that in the world today no country can remain isolated, that it is inevitable that international co-operation should grow till, at some distant date, all the nations of the world join together in a great co-operative endeavour for the advancement of humanity.

8. For nearly a year now, efforts have been made in Korea to find some way to a truce which might lead to a peaceful settlement of the many problems that afflict the far-east of Asia. I have expressed the hope on several occasions that success will crown these efforts and peace be established again. It is the greatest of tragedies that, despite assertions of goodwill for the Korean people, this ancient country has been reduced by war, hunger and pestilence to utter ruin. It has become a signal and a warning to the world of what war means, whatever immediate justification might be advanced for it. War does not solve problems, it creates them. In Korea now it appears that

most of the obstacles to a truce have been overcome and only one major hurdle, the exchange of prisoners, remains. It should not be beyond the wit of statesmen to overcome this last obstacle. Not to do so will be to confess the failure not only of wisdom but of common humanity. The world hungers for peace and the statesmen who bring peace will remove a heavy and fearful burden that now oppresses the minds of hundreds of millions of people throughout the world.

9. I have referred on previous occasions to the great nationalist upsurge in various parts of Asia and Africa which are still denied freedom. In particular, I have made reference to recent events in Tunisia and expressed our sympathy for the people of that land in their desire for freedom. I regret greatly that, in spite of the desire of a large number of countries in Asia and Africa, even a discussion of this subject was not allowed in the United Nations. The United Nations Organisation was meant to represent the world community, inclusive of all, and its primary aim was the preservation of peace. Gradually, the noble aims of the founders of the United Nations and the Charter that they framed appear to be getting blurred. The wide vision gives place to a more limited outlook. The conception of universality changes into something far narrower and the urge to peace weakens. The United Nations Organization came into existence to fulfil a deeply felt want of humanity. If it fails to fulfil that want and becomes an ineffective organ for the maintenance of peace and the advancement of freedom, that, indeed, will be tragedy. I earnestly trust that this great organisation, on which the hopes of the world have been built up, will return to its old moorings and become, as it was meant to be, a pillar of peace and freedom.

10. My Government has sent a Cultural Delegation to our great neighbour, China. That Delegation has carried the greeting and goodwill of our people to the people of China. I should like to express my gratitude for the cordial welcome that it has received from the Government and people of China.

11. I regret greatly that the racial policy of the Government of the Union of South Africa has continued and has led to serious developments. Our people have been intimately concerned over this policy because there are many people of Indian origin who live in South Africa. But this question is no longer merely one of Indians in South Africa; it has already assumed a greater and wider significance. It is a question of racial domination and racial intolerance. It is a question of the future of Africans even more than that of Indians in South Africa. Delay in settling this and like questions is fraught with peril for humanity. I am glad that there has been a growth of friendly relations all over Africa between the Africans and the Indians resident there. It is our desire not to interfere in any way with the growth of the peoples of Africa, but to help them to the best of our ability.

12. I regret also that a large number of Indians, long resident in Ceylon, have been deprived of their voting rights. They claim to be as much Ceylonese citizens as other inhabitants of that country. Our ties with Ceylon go back to thousands of years and our relations with Ceylon and her people have been most friendly. We welcome her independence and we hoped that her people would advance in every way as an independent people. But true progress will not come by depriving a large number of citizens of their natural rights. This will lead, as it has already led, to serious problems and complications.

13. We have for many years past suffered a shortage of food and large quantities of foodgrains have had to be imported. In this we were helped greatly by the United States of America, and we must be grateful to that great country for the generous help that it gave. For the first time in recent history, we have large stocks of foodgrains (except for rice), and are building up a substantial reserve which will help us in the future in case of need. This is to be welcomed. But the failure of the rains over large parts of our country has created a difficult situation for the people there. For five successive seasons, Rayalseema

has suffered the misfortune of a drought and its greatest need today is water. Our army is doing valuable work to help the civil population by deepening wells and carrying water and in other ways. In these large areas of drought and scarcity, many minor projects have been undertaken to provide work and cheap grain shops have been opened. Wherever necessary, free food is given.

14. Owing to the high cost of imported foodgrains, their price has gone up. The contraction of the food subsidy has contributed in some measure to those high prices, and has caused some distress and discontent in rationed areas. To some extent this is partly counter-balanced by a general fall in prices. The limitation of food subsidies has induced Governments in various States to make a more realistic appraisal of their need for import of foodgrains, and this has led to a reduction of the demand from various States for foodgrains, with its consequent result on their import. This is undoubtedly an advantage in the present and for the future. The amount saved from the food subsidies has been diverted to financing minor irrigation schemes which will yield more foodgrains in future and thus help in solving our food problem. My Government is giving the most careful attention to these matters. It has to balance immediate with future advantages. At the same time it is anxious that no distress should be caused and it will do all in its power to prevent this from happening.

15. The Planning Commission is now finalising its report on the Five-Year Plan. A very vital addition to this Plan has been made by the proposal to start fifty-five Community Projects throughout the country. This has been possible because of aid from the United States of America through their Technical Co-operation Plan. These Community Projects are not only intended to increase our food production but, what is even more important, to raise the whole level of community living. It is hoped that this programme will grow and cover a considerable part of India. But it can only grow if it has the full co-operation of the people and I earnestly trust that in this matter, as

in implementing the other proposals of the Planning Commission, their co-operation will be forthcoming in full measure.

16. The integrated programme for agricultural production has made satisfactory progress. Jute production has increased considerably from 16·6 lakhs of bales in 1947-48 to 46·8 lakhs of bales in 1951-52. Cotton production has gone up during the same period from 24 lakhs bales to over 33 lakhs bales. Production of foodgrains has increased by 14 lakhs tons, though this has been offset by drought in certain areas. Sugar production increased from 10·75 lakhs tons in 1947-48 to 13·5 lakhs tons in 1951-52. There has also been an increase in the production of steel, coal, cement and salt. India is now self-sufficient in salt and is able to export her surplus. A Central Salt Research Station is being established in Saurashtra.

17. The general economic situation in the country has been kept under continuous observation by my Government. In my last address to Parliament I referred to a slight fall in wholesale prices. This trend was sharply accentuated in the months of February and March. Partly this was due to a general readjustment of prices all over the world, a process which started in 1950 but received a setback owing to the outbreak of the Korean war. With the prospect of an armistice in Korea in sight, this process of readjustment gathered strength. This has been assisted by an increased production of goods in the country coupled with increasing consumer resistance to high prices. The monetary and credit policy of my Government, initiated with a view to checking inflation, has also contributed to the fall in prices. This sharp fall in the price level has caused difficulties to those engaged in business and industry, more especially in the textile industry. This is also leading to a fall in our export earnings. My Government are closely watching the situation to ensure that production and employment are not affected. It is their intention to take such action as might be necessary to assist in the stabilisation of prices at a reasonable level.

18. I am glad that a new Ministry of Production has been created. Production by state-owned industries is of vital importance and the creation of a new Ministry for this purpose indicates that special attention is going to be paid to it.

19. An assurance was given by Government last year to Parliament that a Press Commission would be appointed to consider various matters connected with the Press. My Government hope to appoint such a Commission in the near future. It is also proposed to place before Parliament a bill arising out of the recommendations of the Press Laws Enquiry Committee.

20. This session of Parliament will be mainly concerned with the Budget and there will probably not be much time for other legislation. A statement of the estimated receipts and expenditure of the Government of India for the financial year 1952-53 will be laid before you. The members of the House of the People will be required to consider and pass the demands for grants.

21. After the last session of the provisional Parliament, it became necessary to promulgate an Ordinance relating to the repealing of the Saurashtra (Abolition of Local Sea Customs Duties and imposition of) Port Development Levy. This Ordinance will be brought before you in the form of a new bill and you will be asked to consider and pass it. Another Ordinance was issued for the purpose of extending the Displaced Persons (Claims) Act, 1950. A bill to replace this Ordinance will also be placed before you.

22. A number of bills which were introduced in the provisional Parliament have now lapsed. Some of these will be placed before you in so far as time permits. It is also proposed to place before Parliament a bill dealing with Preventive Detention.

23. One of the legislative measures which was discussed at considerable length in the provisional Parliament was the Hindu Code Bill. This could not be passed and, in common with other

pending bills, has lapsed. It is the intention of my Government to introduce afresh legislation on this subject. It is proposed, however, to divide up the bill into certain parts and to place each part separately before Parliament, so as to facilitate its discussion and passage.

24. I have endeavoured to indicate to you some of the work that will be placed before this session of Parliament. I trust that your labours will bear fruit for the good of our people and that this new Parliament of the Democratic Republic of India will set an example of friendly co-operation and efficient working. Your success will depend on the spirit of tolerance that governs your activities and the wisdom that inspires your efforts. I earnestly trust therefore that this wisdom and tolerance of spirit will always be with you.

*FULL AND PRODUCTIVE EMPLOYMENT.

MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT,—

Nine months ago, I welcomed you as members of the first Parliament of Republic of India, elected under our Constitution. Since then, you have had to shoulder heavy burdens and to face difficult problems, both domestic and international. As we meet here today, we bring with us faith in our country's destiny and the assurance that our people are advancing, through their labours, towards the goal that we have set before us. These nine months have seen advances on many fronts, industrial and agricultural, and the finalisation of the Five-Year Plan, which has mapped out the lines of our progress in the coming years. It is for us now to march along that path and to implement and fulfil the promise held out to our people. That is no easy task, for a multitude of old and new problems always tend to overwhelm us and our wishes often run faster than our capacity and resources.

2. At this moment, when we require all the wisdom and experience of our leaders, it is a misfortune that we have lost one of the most eminent and devoted of our elder statesmen. I learnt with deep sorrow of the death yesterday, in the early morning, of Shri N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar, who had filled, in the course of a full life, many high offices with rare distinction. To the end of his days, regardless of his health and the leisure he had so richly earned, he devoted his life to the service of his country and people. His colleagues in the Government and I relied on his ripe wisdom whenever any difficult problem confronted us. His death is a great loss to the country and to all of us.

3. While we labour in our own country to build up a new and prosperous India, bringing relief to the millions who have suffered so much in the past from the curse of poverty, the problems of the rest of the world thrust themselves upon us and

*Address to Parliament delivered on 11th February, 1953.

we cannot avoid them or isolate ourselves from them. My Government has no desire to interfere with other countries, but it has to face the responsibility which has inevitably come with independence to India. We have endeavoured, as is well known, to pursue a policy of peace and of friendship with all the countries of the world. Gradually, that policy has been understood and appreciated, even by those who may not always agree with it, and it is recognised that India stands for peace among the nations and will avoid taking any step which might encourage the tendency to war. In pursuit of this policy, my Government put forward certain proposals which they hoped might lead to a settlement of the Korean war. Those proposals met with a very large measure of support, but unfortunately some of the great countries most intimately concerned were unable to accept them. This war continues not only to the utter misery and ruin of the people of Korea, but also as a focus of danger for the rest of the world. Certain statements recently made, and the consequences that might flow from them in extending the war in Korea, have caused considerable apprehension in the minds of people all over the world. My Government has viewed these developments with grave concern. I trust that any tendency towards an extension of the war which has already brought disaster in its train, will be checked and the minds of nations and peoples will be turned towards a peaceful approach to these problems. My Government will continue to work to this end and will pursue a policy of friendship with all countries without any alignment with one group of nations against another. The democratic processes to which we are so firmly committed in our own country involve methods of peaceful approach to problems. If democracy is to survive, the same climate of peace and spirit of reconciliation has to be extended to the international sphere.

4. The General Assembly of the United Nations will meet again in the near future and will consider these grave problems, on which hangs the momentous issue of peace or war in the

world. I earnestly hope that the great nations whose representatives will assemble there will address themselves to the promotion of a spirit of reconciliation and the fulfilment of the objectives embodied in the Charter of the United Nations.

5. In the continent of Africa, which continues to be the greatest sphere of colonialism today, events have taken a turn for the worse. In South Africa, the doctrine of racial domination is openly proclaimed and enforced by all the power of the State. The efforts made by the United Nations to deal with this problem have been ignored by the Government of the Union of South Africa. A movement against racial discrimination, which was remarkable for its peaceful and disciplined character, is sought to be crushed by legislation and governmental action, which are unique in their denial of democratic processes and the purpose which was proclaimed in the Charter of the United Nations. In East Africa there is racial conflict which, if not ended to the satisfaction of the people, is likely to extend and engulf vast areas of Africa. There are many people still who do not realise that racial domination and discrimination cannot be tolerated in the world today and any attempt to perpetuate them can only lead to disaster.

6. Our relations with our neighbour countries in Western and South-Eastern Asia continue to be close and friendly and there is an increasing measure of co-operation between us. Even in regard to Pakistan, with which unfortunately our relations have been strained, there has been a certain improvement. That improvement is not very great, but it is an indication which I welcome. Recent conferences between representatives of the two countries have been held in a friendly atmosphere and will, I hope, yield results. The upheaval caused by the introduction of the passport system between the two countries has subsided and many of the difficulties that were created by this system are being gradually removed. I trust that this effort will be continued and directed towards the removal of the basic problems that still confront the minorities in East Bengal.



Addressing Parliament after being sworn in as President of India]

7. The canal waters issue is being considered at a technical level jointly by representatives of the two countries, assisted by the International Bank. This issue is eminently one which ought to be considered objectively and dispassionately so that the maximum advantage can be derived by both countries from the waters that flow through them. A great proportion of these waters run waste to the sea. If they can be properly harnessed, they will bring relief and prosperity to vast numbers of human beings in both India and Pakistan. It is unfortunate that an issue like this should be treated in a spirit and atmosphere of rivalry and hostility. I trust that the new approach will yield fruitful and happy results to both countries. This approach can also be applied to the settlement of the evacuee property problem which affects the fortunes of millions of people both in India and Pakistan.

8. Another vital issue between India and Pakistan has been the Jammu and Kashmir State. This matter is again being discussed by our representatives with the Representative of the United Nations. That issue, like others, has to be considered dispassionately, keeping always the welfare of the people of that State in view. It is not by war or threats of war that this, or any other outstanding problem between India and Pakistan, can be solved. My Government has declared repeatedly that it will not go to war unless it is attacked, and has invited a like declaration by Pakistan. If fear of war was eliminated, it would be much easier to consider all the issues that confront us today.

9. Internally, in the Jammu and Kashmir State, progress has been made in many ways. Our Constitution contains specific provisions about the relationship of India with the State, and by an agreement between the Government of India and the Jammu and Kashmir Government, the bonds that tie that State to India have been strengthened and made closer. A part of this agreement has been implemented and the remaining part should also come into operation soon. Unfortunately a misconceived

agitation was started in Jammu which, though aiming at a closer union with India, is likely to have exactly the opposite effect. I trust that this misguided agitation will cease and the people of Jammu and Kashmir will co-operate for the progress and advancement of the State in the larger Union of India. Where there are legitimate grievances, they will undoubtedly be enquired into and every effort made to remove them.

10. The question of linguistic provinces has often agitated the people in various parts of the country. While language and culture are important considerations in the formation of States, it has to be remembered that the States are administrative units in the Union of India and that other considerations also have to be kept in mind. Above all, the unity of India and national security have always to be given the first priority. Financial and administrative aspects, as well as economic progress, are also important. Keeping all these factors in view, there is no reason why the question of the reorganisation of States should not be considered fully and dispassionately so as to meet the wishes of the people and help in their economic and cultural progress. I am glad that my Government has taken steps in the matter of the formation of a separate Andhra State and I hope that there will be no great delay in establishing this new State. Any such change as the establishment of a new State demands the fullest co-operation of all those concerned with it and I trust that this will be forthcoming.

11. The Planning Commission has completed the first part of its labours by finalising its report on the Five-Year Plan. The other and the more difficult part, of implementing this plan, now faces the country and to that we must address ourselves. I am glad to find that this Plan and the fifty-five Community Projects that have been started in the country are evoking a considerable degree of enthusiasm among our people. In the course of a few months, hundreds of miles of roads have been built, tanks dug, school houses constructed and many other minor projects undertaken, almost entirely by the voluntary

labour of our people. That is a sign of hope and promise, for it lies with our people ultimately what they make of their future.

12. The general economic situation in the country shows distinct signs of improvement, although there are still unfortunately areas where, owing to lack of rain, near-famine conditions prevail. The State Governments are doing their utmost to give relief by utility works or otherwise in these areas. The problem, however, has to be tackled in a more basic way so as to avoid recurrence of famine conditions and a complete dependence upon the vagaries of the monsoon.

13. The Finance Commission, constituted towards the end of 1951 under the provisions of Article 280 of the Constitution, have submitted their report. The Commission's recommendations have been accepted by my Government and necessary action will be taken for implementing them. The recommendations of the Commission will be laid on the table of both Houses of Parliament in the current session.

14. There has been a steady improvement in the food situation and the closing stock for 1952 was 19 lakh tons, which is the highest on record so far. One of the factors in building up this stock was the wheat loan from the U.S.A. The prospects of foodgrains for 1952-53 are better than in the two preceding years. Owing mainly to the drought in parts of Bombay, Madras and Mysore, caused by an inadequate monsoon, foodgrains will have to be imported, but their quantity will be less than in the last two years. It is of the highest importance that we should gain self-sufficiency in food and I hope that this might be possible within the three remaining years of the Five Year Plan. For the first time we start this year with a considerable stock of foodgrains. We should endeavour to build this up so that we can meet any contingency. Prices of foodgrains have shown a downward trend in recent months. Controls have been relaxed in many parts of India and there is greater freedom of movement. The Government, however, intend to retain control

at strategic points so that no untoward results may affect prices or procurement.

15. The production of sugar during 1951-52 reached the record figure of 15 lakh tons and for the first time production exceeded internal requirements. This made it possible to relax control over the prices, movement and distribution of sugar, as well as on gur and khandsari. With the easing of the supply position of groundnut oil, controls of prices on hydrogenated oils have also been lifted, except those intended to ensure quality.

16. Very considerable progress has been made in cotton and jute production. In 1948-49 cotton production amounted to 17.7 lakh bales and jute 20.7 lakh bales. In 1951-52 cotton had increased to 31.3 lakh bales and jute to 46.8 lakh bales.

17. In order to add to the country's food production, special attention is being paid to the construction of more than 2,000 tube-wells and for an accelerated programme of minor irrigation works. Crop competitions are becoming increasingly popular all over the country and have yielded very remarkable results. Large-scale experiments are being made to introduce what is called the Japanese method of rice cultivation which promises substantial results in increase of yield. A large mechanised farm has been set up in Jammu Province. Vigorous attempts are being made for the extensive application of fertilizers and other manure and for the use of improved seeds. The community centres are specially aiming at increasing the yield of foodgrains by various methods, including a rural extension service.

18. For the improvement of cattle, 92 key farm centres were started in 1951-52. In addition it is proposed to provide one key village unit in each Community Project area. Sheep breeding schemes have been reorganised to provide for the production of fine wool. A Board for the preservation of wild life

has been set up. At Jodhpur a Desert Afforestation Research Station is being established. This will undertake work for the reclamation of arid areas.

19. The Sindri Fertilizer Factory produced 180,000 tons of ammonium sulphate during 1952. This is expected to be increased to three lakh tons in 1953. The pool price has been reduced from Rs. 365/- per ton to Rs. 335/-.

20. The production of cotton textiles, which amounted to 4,600 million yards during 1952, was highly satisfactory and the prospects for the next year are good. The lower prices of mill-made cloth, though welcome, led to a fall in the offtake of handloom cloth and the handloom industry, which provides livelihood to millions of people in the country, was faced with serious difficulties. My Government attaches great importance to this and other cottage industries both because vast numbers of people are employed in them and because they are the most effective method of removing unemployment. An All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board has been established and legislation undertaken to raise funds for technical development and research for village and cottage industries. In order to help the handloom industry, the production of dhoties by mill industry was curtailed to sixty per cent. of the 1951-52 production.

21. The tea industry was badly affected by the fall in international prices. The Government have taken measures to assist tea gardens to secure better credit facilities and propose to set up an expert committee to enquire into all aspects of the tea industry, including marketing. The price of tea is now showing some signs of improvement.

22. The readjustment of world prices affected foreign trade and exports fell in value and to a lesser extent, in quantity. The balance of payments position, however, continued to be satisfactory, as imports also declined.

23. My Government has been paying special attention to the tribal areas in the North-East and other parts of India and

help is being given for their development. A Commission to consider the problems of backward classes has been appointed. A Press Commission has also been appointed to consider problems of the newspaper press in India.

24. The great multi-purpose river valley projects have made good progress and in some of them the operational phase will begin soon. Work on other projects has made steady progress.

25. Steps are being taken to improve the efficiency of the Hindustan Shipyard at Visakhapatnam and for the expansion of the Iron and Steel Industry. Production of coal, steel, cement, salt and fertilizers has reached higher levels than in the previous year.

26. Scientific research has made further progress by the establishment of new National Laboratories and Research Institutes. A Central Electro-Chemical Research Institute was opened at Karaikudi and the Central Leather Research Institute at Madras. The Building Research Institute at Roorkee will be opened soon. A factory for processing monazite sands has been set up at Alwaye in Travancore-Cochin and a Machine Tool Prototype Factory was recently opened at Ambarnath in Bombay State. The Hindustan Aircraft Factory at Bangalore has produced, from its own designs, a number of trainer aircraft which are being used now. A defence factory near Jubbulpore is nearing completion.

27. My Government has decided to take under State control the existing air companies and to operate the scheduled air services. It is proposed to establish two State Corporations for this purpose, one for internal services and the other for external services.

28. Indian Railways are celebrating their centenary next month. This great State undertaking belonging to the community is continuing its progress and extending its operations.

29. The progress of a people and of a nation ultimately depends upon education. My Government views with much concern the present state of education in the country which suffers in many ways, both in quality and quantity, and too much attention is paid to the granting of diplomas and degrees and not the real improvement of the individual in cultural, scientific and technical matters and, above all, in the training for good citizenship. Basic education has been adopted as the model, but progress in this has thus far been unfortunately slow. Many schemes for the improvement of basic, secondary and social education are under consideration, and a Commission on Secondary Education has been appointed.

30. An over-all view of the situation in India indicates all-round general progress at an increasing pace. This is a matter for satisfaction. But the goal we have set before us is still far and requires greater and continuous effort and an increasing pace of change. We aim at a Welfare State in which all the people of this country are partners, sharing alike the benefits and the obligations. So long as there is poverty and unemployment, a section of the community derives no benefit from this partnership. It is, therefore, necessary for us to aim at full and productive employment.

31. A statement of the estimated receipts and expenditure of the Government of India for the financial year 1953-54 will be laid before you. The Members of the House of the People will be required to consider and pass the demands for grants.

32. The House of the People will also be asked to vote supplementary grants to meet additional expenditure during the current financial year.

33. There are 24 Bills pending before you. Some of them have passed the Committee stage. A few of them, which are still under consideration by the Committees, will be brought before you with their recommendations during the course of this session.

34. Among the other legislative measures that it is intended to bring before you, the following may be especially mentioned: The Representation of the People (Amendment) Bill, the Bill on National Housing, the Air Services Corporation Bill, the Minimum Wages (Amendment) Bill, and the Indian Tariff (Amendment) Bill.

35. I earnestly trust that wisdom and tolerance and the spirit of co-operative endeavour will guide you in your labours and will yield results for the good of the country and the people whom we are all privileged to serve.

*HOPE AND FEAR EVENLY BALANCED.

MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT,

I have come here, after a full year, to welcome you to the new session of Parliament. During this past year, you have had to consider many difficult problems and to shoulder heavy burdens. Many of those problems still remain with us, but I think that you may well look back on this year as one of considerable achievement. As a symbol of the indomitable spirit of man conquering almost insurmountable obstacles and difficulties, came the final conquest of Everest. With this signal achievement was associated one of our own brave countrymen. In the international sphere, the old tensions and fears continue. But efforts are being continually made to find some settlement and I earnestly trust that these efforts will lead to an easing of these tensions and will point the way to some future settlement both in the West and in the Far East.

2. India has continued to pursue a policy of peace and friendship with all the countries of the world and has not hesitated to undertake responsibilities where, it was hoped, she might be able to perform some service in the cause of peace. In Korea, my Government accepted the Chairmanship of the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission and sent a Custodial Force to take charge of the prisoners of war, pending a final decision about their future. Unfortunately, the processes laid down in the Armistice Agreement could not be carried through, as intended, and a difficult situation arose. The Commission will conclude its labours within a few days and the Custodial Force is gradually returning to India. The major matters of dispute in Korea have not been settled yet. I earnestly hope that an early attempt will be made in the United Nations General Assembly, or otherwise, to give full consideration to these outstanding issues. I should like to express, on your behalf and mine, our high appreciation of the work of our representatives

*Address to Parliament, 15th February, 1954.

in the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission in Korea and of our officers and men of the Custodial Force, who discharged their difficult and delicate tasks with ability and impartiality.

3. India's relations with other countries continue to be friendly, even though sometimes some misunderstandings arise. My Government's representatives are at present discussing with the Government of the People's Republic of China various issues of common concern in regard to Tibet. I have every hope that these discussions will lead to a settlement of outstanding issues. Trade agreements have been made with the Soviet Union and several other countries. In the course of the past year, meetings took place between my Prime Minister and the Prime Minister of Pakistan. These meetings were friendly and led to some understandings about various matters which have long been in dispute between the two countries. While some progress was made in this respect, unfortunately some other developments have at present come in the way of further progress. I am glad to find that an agreement has been arrived at between my Government and the Government of Ceylon over the long standing issue of the people of Indian descent in Ceylon. This agreement does not finally solve this problem but is a first step and an earnest attempt to that end and I welcome it as such. It has always been my Government's endeavour to develop close and friendly relations with our neighbour countries, Ceylon and Burma, with whom India has not only geographical but cultural affinities of long standing.

4. With the countries of Western Asia and Egypt, our relations have been of close co-operation and friendship. I am glad that the services of our Chief Election Commissioner as Chairman of the Electoral Commission for the Sudan were appreciated and successful elections were held. I welcome the emergence of self-government in Sudan both in itself and as a symbol of future progress in the Continent of Africa, which has suffered so much in the past, and is now undergoing a severe ordeal.

5. Since I addressed you on the last occasion, a new State in the Indian Union has come into existence, the State of Andhra. I welcome this addition to our fraternity of States and wish it success. In view of the demands for further re-organisation of the States in India, my Government have appointed a Commission for this purpose consisting of eminent and experienced members. This is a task of high and historic importance, which has to be dealt with in an objective and dispassionate manner so as to promote the welfare of the people of the areas concerned as well as of the nation as a whole. I earnestly trust that the work of this Commission will be assisted by all concerned in a spirit of harmony and understanding.

6. In two of our States, namely, Travancore-Cochin and Patiala and East Punjab States Union, general elections are taking place. In the latter State, the Constitution could not function properly and I had to take over charge till such time as fresh elections could take place.

7. Half the period of the first Five-Year Plan is over. In some matters progress has not been as rapid as was hoped, in others it has been very significant. In particular, the Community Projects show promise and the National Extension Service, which was inaugurated in October 1953, is making satisfactory progress. The contribution of the people has been most encouraging. This is a particularly happy feature. Although there has been marked progress in industrial production and in other respects, my Government have felt great concern at the existence of a considerable volume of unemployment. The Planning Commission have undertaken a revision of the first Five-Year Plan, particularly to provide more employment.

8. There has been a continued improvement in the general economic situation. The output of foodgrains in 1952-53 was five lakh tons more than the output of the previous year and this year's prospects are good. The improvement in the food situation has been highly satisfactory and the country is making

rapid approach to the goal of self-sufficiency. Industrial production has continued at a high level, more particularly in cotton textile, paper, chemicals, bicycles, cement, salt and most of the engineering industries. The index of industrial production rose from 129 in 1952 to 134 in 1953. This was the highest level of industrial production since the war. Plans for the expansion of steel production and for the establishment of a new iron and steel plant are now being finalised. The jute and tea industries, which were facing serious difficulties, are now again doing well.

9. My Government attach special importance to the development of cottage industries. I regret, however, that progress in this respect has not been very satisfactory. It is hoped that the efforts of the All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board as well as the All-India Handloom Board and the All-India Handicrafts Board will yield substantial results in the near future.

10. Satisfactory progress has been made in the great River Valley Schemes and some of the projects have already been completed and are yielding results. Five new projects, namely, the Kosi, the Koyna, the Krishna, the Rihand and the Chambal have been included in the Five-Year Plan. Steps are being taken to expedite certain preliminary arrangements in regard to them, and, in the case of Kosi, plans are being made to have discussions with the Government of Nepal, with a view to starting work on these new projects during the next financial year.

11. The Air Services of India have now been reorganised and two State Corporations, one dealing with internal airlines and the other with external services, have been formed. It is proposed to extend the external services to the Far East.

12. In the course of the past year, two land-marks have been celebrated, namely, the centenaries of the beginning of the Railway System and the Telegraphs in India. There has been steady progress on the railways and special attention is being paid to the manufacture of locomotives and rolling stock.

Some major projects of rail construction will be taken up shortly. Postal and telegraph facilities have expanded, especially in the rural and backward areas.

13. My Government attach importance to the problem of housing. A total expenditure of Rs. 72 crores has been incurred on housing for displaced persons since the Partition and loans and subsidies have been given for the construction of houses for industrial workers. With a view to encouraging the building of inexpensive and attractive houses, an International Exhibition on Low Cost Housing was recently held and it has attracted much attention.

14. A statement of the estimated receipts and expenditure of the Government of India for the financial year 1954-55 will be laid before you.

15. After the last session of Parliament, it became necessary to promulgate seven Ordinances. Of these, two deal with matters in respect of which Bills are pending before you. You will be asked to consider and pass such of these as require permanent legislation.

16. There are 28 Bills pending before you. Some of these have been considered by Select Committees; some others, which are still under the consideration of Select Committees, will be brought before you with their recommendations. Among these are the Bills dealing with reform of the Hindu Law to which my Government attach considerable importance. There are other legislative measures relating to matters of general public interest, which will be brought before you during the course of this session. My Government are anxious to proceed with certain reforms relating to judicial procedure with a view to expediting these processes and lessening the expenditure involved in them.

17. Early in this month, a tragedy took place at the Kumbh Mela in Allahabad where a vast and unprecedented gathering

of pilgrims had collected. The Uttar Pradesh Government had taken great pains to make satisfactory arrangements for this great concourse of human beings. But on the Amavas day an accidental mishap occurred, as a result of which a large number of persons were crushed to death by the uncontrollable passage of others over them. This grievous tragedy, which marred a happy occasion, has brought sorrow to many and, on your behalf and mine, I extend my deep sympathy to the relatives of those who have suffered.

18. The new year begins with hope and fear evenly balanced. There is promise of achievement and of progress towards peace. There is also apprehension at the trials we and the rest of the world might have to face. In this crisis of human destiny, we can serve both our own country and the larger causes of the world only by adhering to the principles that have guided us in the past and by remembering the message of peace, tolerance and self-reliance of the Father of the Nation. I trust that that message will guide you in your deliberations.

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TO THE NATION

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*ON ROAD TO CONQUER WANTS.

Another year has run out since we last celebrated the Independence Day. That has seen the country emerging out of the Transitional Provisions of the Constitution. With the General Elections and the appointment of new Ministries in the States and at the Centre the Constitution has come into force in its entirety. The General Elections were an experiment in democracy on an unprecedented scale and the way in which those in charge and the millions of men and women who participated in them conducted themselves, encourages the hope that our infant democracy is set on the right road and bids fair in course of time to justify its existence. We have now got in our Legislatures not only a very much larger number of representatives of the people elected on adult franchise, but also a large number of new faces, all with new hopes and aspirations to serve the country to the best of their ability. We have also got new Ministers taking up responsibilities all over the country, pledging themselves to devote their time and energy to the solution of the numerous problems facing them. While we can justly congratulate ourselves on this achievement, this is no time to be complacent. The form has been achieved, but the substance has to be filled in, and this will have been achieved only when we have succeeded in tackling the problem of poverty, disease and ignorance. We cannot afford either to be jubilant before time or to be frightened and dismayed by the many and real difficulties that we have to overcome in solving these problems. Constructive effort on a scale as large and unprecedented as the General Elections has to be undertaken to meet our prime needs. I have no doubt that we have the capacity to solve our problems if only we have the will and the determination as a nation to do so.

Take for example the question of food. At the bottom of the problem of hunger is the lack of sufficient food in the country.

*President's Independence Day Broadcast, 14th August, 1952.

It is a paradox but nevertheless true that a country which claims to be, and is in fact very largely agricultural, and which has known and practised not unsuccessfully agriculture for countless generations, which has a rich fertile soil, plentiful supply of water both on the surface and underground, which has climate of all varieties suited for the growth and production of all kinds of grains and fruits, herbs and vegetables, should be deficit in food. Nature has been bountiful, but we are not utilising the bounties of nature or our own capacities to the best advantage. Apart from the very large and gigantic multi-purpose river projects which have been taken in hand or are in contemplation but which will take time to implement and bear fruit, the deficit can be, to my mind, easily met by our people devoting a little more attention, a little more labour, a little more knowledge, a little more organisation to agriculture. Complete understanding and full co-operation between the agencies of Government and the people engaged in food production are necessary to bring about the best results. We cannot afford to import hundreds of crores worth of grain from year to year and it must be the duty and the look-out of every individual to save every little particle of food that he can, to add every little particle to the production of food and to help in a just and fair distribution of it. We need to get rid of sloth and laziness, and to utilise our time and energy in productive work. The same considerations apply to other articles of daily necessities.

To enable us to meet our daily requirements of life, and to raise its standard, we need freedom from anxiety for all our people and good relations should subsist amongst different sections of us and with other countries, in particular with our nearest neighbours. We have people following different religions, speaking different languages, following many and varying customs, and complete understanding and toleration of each other and full freedom to each to live his own life and to rise to his fullest height without interfering with similar rights of others are essential. This in one word is what is meant by calling our State a Secular State, and today it is obvious that the first condition not

only of all progress, but also of our bare existence is peace based on mutual understanding. I therefore plead that we must all learn to live and let others live, none trying to dominate, none trying to exploit, none trying to humiliate others. This can be secured only on the basis of non-violence which the Father of the Nation taught us as of yore.

In a world seething with discontent and disruption, doubt and suspicion, we have to play our humble part for the maintenance of peace. We have no ambition except of being able to render service to our own people and also to others, however limited our capacity and however humble our services may be. We have won our freedom pursuing a novel and noble method. Our means have been as honest and ennobling as our ends. We owe it to ourselves and to others to proclaim our adherence not merely by words but also by our deeds to those high ideals which inspired us during the period of struggle for freedom. Our hands may shake, our feet may falter, but let not our vision be dimmed nor our determination to follow the true path be weakened. Let us make that resolve for the year which commences to-day.

No nation can prosper, no people can hope to rise unless the individuals constituting it have a deep-seated faith in certain moral and spiritual values. A nation trying to emerge from prolonged bondage and suppression needs them all the more. It was therefore an indispensable and essential part of Mahatma Gandhi's works to base all his programmes of action—national no less than individual—on what he comprehensively called Truth. We cannot do less today when we have become masters of our fortunes and architects of our destiny. Let each one of us examine his or her own life and activity and see how far he or she conforms in daily dealings to the ordinary standard that is generally accepted in society. We shall have served the country well if we remedy the defect and remove the deficiencies and weaknesses, even though we may not reach the high standard aimed at by Mahatma Gandhi. Many of the ills that we are

suffering from and many of the complaints that we constantly hear will have become things of the past, if we did this much. Let each one of us appreciate and realise that individuals constitute the nation and the nation is and can be only what these individuals constituting it are. Pathetic faith in the Government being able to solve all our problems—national and individual, moral and material—for us is based on a wrong appraisal of the strength and capacity of a Government and an underestimate of what the people can and have to do. It must give place to a robust consciousness and steady confidence that it is for us and upto us as a people to conquer all our difficulties and that we shall do so. For this we need character, a character that will not easily and readily yield to temptations that beset us, that will be prepared to make sacrifices, that will stick to what is right despite overwhelming difficulties, that will enable one to enter into the skin of others and make their sufferings and sorrows one's own, that will be ever ready to give rather than to take. A nation of individuals with such character will itself be happy and prosperous and make others also happy and prosperous. Let us strive to be such a nation and make the independence we have won a blessing for us and for all.

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*INTEGRATED DEVELOPMENT OF INDIAN VILLAGES.

India lives very largely in villages and although during recent times the urban population has been increasing at rapid strides, it is still true that India lives mostly in villages. Anything done to bring about an all-round improvement of the villages and those who inhabit them should not only be welcomed, but given all possible encouragement by the State and by the people at large. Mahatma Gandhi therefore attached the greatest importance to the welfare of the villages. It is a happy idea to inaugurate the Community Development Programme on his birthday.

The terms "Community Development" and "Community Project" are new, but the concept is very old. Basically, the concept is of many-sided development as distinguished from development relating to particular aspects. Experience in the working of the Grow More Food Programmes as well as the programmes undertaken by various State Governments and private agencies functioning in the sphere of village uplift, has established that "all aspects of rural life are inter-related, and that no lasting results can be achieved if individual aspects of it are dealt with in isolation. This does not mean that particular problems should not be given prominence, but the plans for them should form parts of, and be integrated with, those for achieving the wider aims". This can be achieved only if the energies of the administrative machinery of the States and the best unofficial leadership and enthusiasm of the masses, are all enlisted in its favour and concerted action is taken for the all-round improvement of agriculture, education, health, sanitation, welfare of cattle, provision of employment, etc., etc. Under the inspiration given by Gandhiji, a large amount of selfless work has been done by his followers in various

*President's Speech Broadcast on the occasion of inauguration of the Community Development Programme on 2nd October, 1952.

parts of the country, and other organisations and individuals have also done considerable work in that direction. The resources, however, both in money and technical personnel, available to these have been limited and the progress consequently has not been as rapid or extensive as one would have wished. The Indo-United States Technical Co-operation Agreement of January 1952 has, I am happy to say, opened up new possibilities of advance along these lines.

I have always believed that the Indian peasant is no novice in agriculture and has practical experience which goes back to many generations. The remarkable adaptability with which the Bihar peasant, for example, has taken to the cultivation of new varieties of sugarcane to suit the requirements of sugar mills which have grown up during the last two decades, shows quite clearly that the charge that the Indian peasant is conservative and does not care to adopt improved methods cannot stand scrutiny. What is necessary therefore is to demonstrate to him to his satisfaction that a new method or a new variety gives a larger yield or is otherwise profitable.

The most serious problem facing the country today is the one relating to insufficient production of food in the country. Even before the last Great War, India had been importing about 1½ million tons of rice every year from Burma. The deficit has increased as a result of partition in consequence of which the surplus areas of West Punjab and Sind have gone over to Pakistan. The increase in annual demand for foodgrains on account of increase in population has also been appreciable. To augment internal supplies it has been necessary for Government to import large quantities of foodgrains, the imports in the year 1951 reaching the figure of 47 lakh tons.

Our Planning Commission, the Government and all thoughtful people have been anxiously considering ways and means of increasing the food production for the purpose of closing this gap between production and requirement. The big river valley projects, some of which are already taken in hand,

and others which are under contemplation will take time to be completed, and are not expected to yield immediate results. For meeting the present deficit, we shall have to rely very largely on the minor irrigation projects, such as wells, tanks, tube-wells, utilisation of water available from small rivers, rivulets and channels and repairing and putting up bunds and embankments for storing rain-water to be utilised when required. I am convinced there is a great deal of scope for these small projects and I have no doubt that if these are satisfactorily handled, we shall be able to close the existing gap in our food supply. I am happy therefore to notice that in a community projects area covering approximately 300 villages and 150,000 acres of cultivable land, nearly a third of the expenditure will be on minor irrigation works. If these are carried out through co-operative societies and the people living in these areas contribute in labour, which absorbs nearly 80 to 90 per cent. of the expenditure on these small irrigation projects, the amount made available for this purpose will go a very much longer way than would otherwise be the case. I am hoping that this voluntary labour will be coming forth in an abundant measure to make these projects not only successful but also more extensive than if they are to be carried on only with the help of the money made available.

Next to water, comes manure. This may be either chemical or organic or rather a combination of both. For chemical manure, provision has been made in the Fertilizer Agreement with T.C.A. for 108,000 tons of fertilizer being made available. This will be supplemented by supplies from the output of the Sindri Factory. But increasing attention will have to be paid to the optimum utilisation of compost and farmyard manure and other organic village manurial resources which have not been so far as fully exploited as they can be. Improved seed and improved methods of cultivation with improved implements, will also have to be made available to the cultivator for increasing the yield.

In all these directions attempts will be made to utilise the results of scientific research. Hitherto each Department of the State has approached the villager through its own hierarchy and the weakest link in each is the last official who has to be in touch with the villager. In order to get over this basic difficulty, the Community Development Programme quite rightly lays a great deal of emphasis on the setting up of an organisation for intensive rural work similar in conception to the "extension" or "advisory" services in the United States of America and the United Kingdom and elsewhere. The basic idea is that at the project headquarters, there will be experts in agriculture and animal husbandry, co-operation, agricultural engineering etc., and for a group of villages there would be a village level worker or Gram Sevak who will have a basic training in agricultural science and animal husbandry supplemented by intensive training in extension methods and practices. He will be the carrier of the message to the door of the villager and will thus form the pivot of the scheme of development in these areas. He will be a multi-purpose man and his work will not be conceived or executed along narrow departmental lines, but will be intended to inspire people and enlist their enthusiasm for a fuller life and for earning the wherewithal for it.

No scheme of agricultural development can succeed unless adequate facilities are provided for agricultural finance. These are of two kinds: (1) long and medium term, and (2) short term. For the long and medium term loans required for financing minor irrigation works or land reclamation, there is a provision in the Community Development budget although it is necessarily of a modest nature. For the short term loans, no provision has been made and here the success of all these efforts will depend on the growth of a healthy co-operative movement. The workers in the project areas therefore must aim at the early establishment of a multi-purpose co-operative society in every village or group of villages. In addition to providing for the short terms credit needs of the people, the co-operative society

will act as an educative agency of very great value and will also assist the villagers in supplementing the small amount of money which is now being made available for rural development. The co-operative credit societies which have been tried on an extensive scale in the country have not given as good results as one would have wished and it is therefore necessary to be careful and cautious in their handling and it is to be hoped that their multi-purpose nature will make it possible for them to function in a more satisfactory manner and meet the various needs of village life.

A project area consists on an average of 200,000 people, which will mean approximately 50,000 employable adult male workers. Owing to seasonal conditions, work in agriculture is carried out only for a fraction of the year. Over 4/5ths. of the country where there are no irrigation facilities, this period is three to four months in the year. Even in areas where irrigation facilities exist, the working period is no more than six to eight months in the year. It will therefore be safe to assume that the 50,000 workers in the project area have, on an average, about half the year idle time on their hands. This reveals the dimensions of unemployment and under-employment in the countryside and unless this time is fully utilised, the work of village uplift will remain incomplete. The nature of agricultural work is such that this spare time is not available in a continuous stream but is broken up in little bits and it can be utilised only if alternative occupation in the form of village and cottage industries can be provided which will not require continuous operation but could be interrupted and taken up again without imposing any serious dislocation or loss. My hope is that along with the work for agricultural improvement, this side of the problem will also be given due attention, so that the time which is now wasted perforce might be utilised. If even a quarter of this idle time could be harnessed for voluntary effort or self-help in programmes which are their own, the contribution which the village people would be making through their efforts will be able to provide an

amount equal to the provision made in the Community Development Programme.

Full development of a community cannot be achieved without a strong educational base and without a satisfactory health programme. I am glad to find that in education, emphasis has been laid on the expansion of basic educational facilities. The health organisation of the project area will consist of primary health units and a secondary health unit equipped with a hospital and a mobile dispensary at the headquarters of the project area and serving the area as a whole. It is to be hoped that it will be possible to expand these educational and health facilities as the economic condition of the people living in the project area improves as a result of these developmental activities and there is an all-round improvement in agriculture and village and cottage industries resulting in a general rise in the economic condition of the people.

The work ahead is difficult. A small beginning is being made. If we make a sincere effort, the small seed which we are sowing today will grow into a huge and mighty tree in course of time. I therefore appeal to all, whether directly connected with the execution of this programme or not, to make their contribution to this effort and make it a success. Those areas which have been selected for these projects should consider themselves fortunate, but they also should realise their responsibility because on their success depends the future expansion and extension of these projects. The Government help as also the aid generously given by the U.S.A. will undoubtedly go a great way, but there is no doubt that unless the people take up this work as their own and put their heart into it, with a determination to make it successful, the result cannot be satisfactory. It has therefore to be taken up in a spirit of service and with enthusiasm. Mahatma Gandhi used to look upon all work for the common benefit as *Yajna* and it is in this spirit of *Yajna* that the work has to be undertaken and accomplished. I can only hope and pray that the Government and the people will travel together hand in hand in this mighty effort.

*ERA OF RECONSTRUCTION.

On the eve of the Third Anniversary of our Republic, I extend my warmest greetings and good wishes to you all.

It is well to recall that we were faced at the very dawn of our freedom by problems which required the concentration of all our energies for their solution. We have not only warded off what appeared to many to be a historic inevitability but have also forged the institutions and instruments of a State—national, democratic and peace loving. If we look back today we see how stage by stage this task has been accomplished. We had at first to devote ourselves to defeat the forces of political disintegration and social disorder. You are aware how our late leader, Sardar Patel, successfully accomplished this task of integrating what were called the Indian States within the first two years of our free existence. Simultaneously we filled the vacuum that had arisen in the administration, the army and the other branches of the State system.

Thus we completed the first stage of our journey in the solution of the problems inherent in the transformation of an alien into a national State. In the next stage of our journey we forged the institutions of democracy. It is now an event of history how the Constituent Assembly constituted our land and people into a sovereign democratic State in which political power, economic opportunities and cultural conquests were to be equally shared by every individual and class without any discrimination of any kind whatever. The peaceful nature of the process with which such a constitution was adopted in our land should not make any of us miss its great and historic significance. In the history of mankind and nations hardly a parallel can be found where the State power and economic and cultural opportunities were made equally available to all individuals, classes, creeds and sexes without prolonged struggle,

*President's Republic Day Broadcast, 25th January, 1953.

bitterness and bloodshed and indeed with eager willingness as has been done in our land. The Constituent Assembly compressed that exciting history into a brief and peaceful span of our national life.

The third stage of our journey began with our entering upon the first General Elections under the Constitution. At this time last year you, the people of India, were making choice of the programme which you desired your Government to follow and the persons who were to implement the programme of your choice. These elections were, as I had said even before, a test of our political sagacity, administrative capacity and devotion to democratic processes. The vastness of the number of voters on the basis of adult franchise and the extent of the organisation required to carry out the elections were indeed stupendous and certainly unprecedented in the history of democratic elections. Restraint in election propaganda, political sagacity on the part of electors and above all freedom to vote as one desired, were required and were forthcoming in abundant measure. In this crucial test I may say in all humility we have come out quite successful.

Besides this we also have successfully established the legal basis and means for carrying through a far-reaching revolution in the agrarian system of our country. In almost all parts of the country the Zamindari and Jagirdari system has been or is being abolished by law. The different State Governments have been busy taking steps to acquire the Zamindaris and it is hoped that in the near future India will have been completely freed from these relics of feudalism.

But this agrarian revolution could not be fully fruitful unless you, our peasants, were provided also with the benefits of modern sciences, particularly relating to agriculture and health. With a view to carrying to your doors the advances of sciences and technique, 55 Community Projects were launched during the last year on the anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi's

birthday. Every new measure takes some time to make its appeal to the popular mind and it is to be hoped that our people have begun to appreciate their significance and render all the co-operation and help expected of them. I am quite confident that as time passes and as our field-workers gather experience, they would be able to serve you, our village people, with ever-increasing success. Thus a revolution, silent and peaceful, is passing over the countryside and I hope that when it is completed, it would have beneficially transformed the life of our people to no less a degree than any other revolution ever did in any part of the world and opened and cleared the way for countrywide extension of such schemes.

There has been silent but steady progress in the expansion and improvement of our Transport, Industrial and Irrigational system during the last year. Such inaccessible parts as Cutch have now been connected to the main Railway system of our country. Steady improvement continues to be made in the position of locomotives and rolling-stock not only by imports from abroad but also by manufacture in the country itself. More amenities have been provided for the passengers of smaller means. Similarly our industrial production has been growing. The production of sugar, cloth, cement and steel has increased and we have succeeded in making larger quantities of these available for the consumption of the people. In the matter of the production of jute and cotton also we have made a great headway towards self-sufficiency.

Nature has been unkind to us and there has been successive failure of monsoon in important tracts of our land and the crops have dried up for want of water. Indeed this failure of rains has even affected the level of sub-soil water in these tracts and people there had difficulty of even obtaining drinking water. Besides, in several places floods and cyclones have caused quite a great damage to crops and property. All these natural calamities have compelled us to import food from foreign countries at prices not wholly of our choice. During the year under

review, however, on the whole the position has eased considerably and we have been able to relax control in many places without any public detriment and to the great satisfaction of the people at large. We also hope that imports of foodgrains in the the year just commencing will be on a much smaller scale than last year.

The solution of the problem of rehabilitation of refugees has also made considerable headway. The examination of the claims of the refugees from West Pakistan is nearing completion and the evaluation of the property in the evacuee pool is also being proceeded with. We have been trying to negotiate with Pakistan about the settlement of the evacuee property but all our efforts in this direction have been unfortunately so far unfruitful. But the same measure of progress cannot be claimed about the rehabilitation of refugees from East Pakistan. The idea of introduction of the passport system between India and Pakistan at the latter's instance also led to an increased exodus of refugees from East Pakistan and so the problem on that side has somewhat increased in dimensions. But we are determined to spare no efforts for their relief and rehabilitation.

True to our interests and traditions we kept up our efforts for international peace during the last year as well. We tried to find a *via media* on the Korean question, but unfortunately our effort has not been attended with success so far. We do believe that the world has reached a stage in its economic and cultural development where differences between nations can and should be solved by peaceful negotiation and where war would prove disastrous to all, and our humble efforts in that behalf are being continued.

It is with this belief in peace and goodwill to other peoples that we have kept ourselves aloof from all military alignments with any other nation or bloc of nations. Naturally we may not appreciate any move which may have the effect of drawing the danger of war nearer to this sub-continent.

It is really a matter of regret to us that our differences with Pakistan have not yet been settled and that the problem of Kashmir still hangs fire.

Thus the year that has rolled by has witnessed a steady progress in all spheres of our national life. In fact it may be said that it has witnessed the close of the post-partition era and we are now on the threshold of a new era of National reconstruction and regeneration. The symbol of this future is our Five-Year Plan which has been finalized by the Commission and approved by our Parliament. It is a bold attempt to make the most economic use of our national and man-power resources to overcome the economic lag in our life which the recent past has bequeathed to us.

I am sure that everyone of you feels that the paramount necessity of ours is the immediate increase in the national income. This can be done only if we sink our differences, ideological and regional, and devote ourselves whole-heartedly and enthusiastically to this supreme task. Its realisation would tax all our resources and energies and we have not a moment to lose. It may well be that some of you may not be satisfied with the targets fixed by the Plan or may have honest differences about the methods proposed. In a democratic society such differences about approach and objectives of any policy or plan would always be there. But these differences do not and should not imply that any of us should withhold his co-operation from the implementation of a policy or plan accepted by a vast majority of the chosen representatives of the people.

Our future and fate depend on how we pull together for the realisation of all our objectives. We have to answer the call that is made on us. We can and should do so in a spirit of utter dedication to the service of India and Humanity. Let me hope that tomorrow you will re-dedicate yourselves to this great mission and thus fulfil your lives and destiny. May God bless you all.

*PROGRESS IN PRODUCTION.

Today we are completing four years of the existence of our Republic. On the eve of its anniversary, I send my greetings and best wishes to all my countrymen. During the last four years we have been celebrating this occasion appropriately by holding public meetings and dedicating ourselves to the service of the nation. I feel that this is also a fit occasion for looking back and recapitulating past events with a view to assessing our efforts and seeing how far we have moved to our cherished goal of making the common people inhabiting this country happier. The object is not to criticise any one but merely to know as to where exactly we stand today, because this knowledge is bound to be of help to us in the direction of our future efforts.

Let us take first of all the food situation. It is indeed gratifying that during the year which has gone by, we have made distinct improvement in the production of food. Our efforts, spread over the past several years, for growing more food and for bringing more and more land under the plough, have at long last started bearing fruit. The production of nearly every foodstuff has gone up, as a result of which Government was able to make substantial reductions in the imports of food-grains from overseas. Decontrol of coarse food-grains recently ordered by Government is a proof of the present easier situation and of the increase in production. It is probable that as a result of decontrol of coarse food-grains, their prices may fluctuate for some time, but I am sure before long they will have found their own level and the commodity market will stabilize.

Our first Five-Year Plan for the all-round development and progress of the country is proceeding apace. Under this Plan work on the River Valley Projects and other schemes of vast magnitude is in progress. One of these projects, known as Kakrapara Dam Project in Saurashtra, was completed a few

months ago. It is hoped that more than six lakhs of acres of land will be irrigated with the water made available by the construction of this Dam. Sufficient progress has been made in respect of the Tungabhadra Project as well and the dam for storing the water of the river is already completed. Similarly the Mayurakshi Project for Bengal, the Damodar Valley Project for Bihar and Bengal, the Bhakra-Nangal Project for the Punjab, PEPSU, etc., and the Hirakud Project for Orissa—all of these may be said to be in an advanced stage of execution. In fact, the Mayurakshi Project has already started giving its benefits to the region concerned. Another two or three similar projects which were not included originally in the Five-Year Plan are also under Government's active consideration. Principal among them is the Kosi River Project.

During the year under review we have had to face calamitous floods and their after-effects. Widespread damage was caused by flood in Assam, Andhra and particularly in Bihar. Besides providing the maximum possible relief to the affected areas, Government is anxious to find a permanent solution of this recurring problem. It is only by constructing dams and controlling the waters of these rivers which are flooded every year and by adopting measures for improving drainage that this problem can be solved. Plans are being formulated for this purpose. When they are taken in hand and implemented, it is hoped that not only floods would be averted but the stored waters would be utilized for the purpose of irrigation.

Whatever little we have been able to achieve so far through the Five-Year Plan gives us great hope for the future. When the Plan is fully implemented, there will be an all-round increase in production. In addition to the great increase in acreage under irrigation a good deal of power will also be available which will not only break the monotony of our villagers, but also increase the potentialities for large as also small industries. While Government is making an all-out effort to implement this Plan at the cost of hundreds of crores of rupees, it is the bounden duty of every Indian, high or low, to extend his or her full co-operation in the accomplishment of this great task.

It will not be out of place to mention here the Community Project Scheme on which work is going on in the countryside. This Scheme was started in October, 1952, in 55 selected rural centres. Luckily I had the opportunity of visiting a few of these centres last March and April. I was very happy to observe in these centres that the project had stirred the imagination of the village folk and roused their enthusiasm. They have been able to do a good deal of solid work. Under the Community Project Scheme people have voluntarily constructed link roads, dug wells for the procurement of drinking water, cleaned tanks and village ponds, improved the production of fish, increased the production of foodgrains by sowing seeds of improved quality and by using manure, opened schools for children's education and started hospitals for the sick. These small projects have come quite handy to the villagers who have evinced keen interest in them, particularly because they are able to see the outcome of their efforts so quickly. As a result of this Scheme, the whole atmosphere in the villages has become surcharged with constructive activity. To extend the scope of this useful work, Government has decided to start the Community Project Scheme in another 55 centres.

The Government of India has also set up a Board for encouraging cottage industries, specially the Khadi industry. People interested in cottage industries and having sufficient experience and knowledge of their working have been appointed to this Board. Government has also agreed to subsidise these industries. It is hoped that as a result of this step, cottage industries will receive a great impetus.

I would like to mention here the "Bhoomidan" movement started by Acharya Vinoba Bhave. Although the Government has no direct connection with this movement, yet its great potentialities in solving the problem of equitable distribution of land and effecting a revolutionary change in the attitude of the people towards it, cannot but interest every one. For remedying the present maldistribution of land among cultivators, it is altogether a novel move, a move which is perfectly in keeping with the traditions of this country and the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi.

While reviewing the events of the past year, we cannot forget the creation of a separate Andhra State. The people of Andhra had been agitating for it for many years past. Now that this demand has been met, let me hope our Andhra brothers will seize the opportunity to make a united efforts for ameliorating the condition of the people of their newly-created State. The demand for redistribution and reorganisation of States has been insistent for some time. The Government has announced the appointment of a high-powered Commission to go into this question. Let me hope that as a result of the efforts of this Commission a satisfactory solution will have been found of all the controversial issues, consistent with the unity, solidarity and safety of India.

The Government set up another Commission last year for inquiring into and suggesting ways and means of improving the conditions of what are called backward people, so as to bring them into line with other people and for preparing a comprehensive list of such people. It is in the interest of all of us that every national of this country should have equal opportunity to develop and progress. It is enjoined not only by our Constitution but also by our age-long tradition. Our plans for reconstruction should therefore be so broad-based as to benefit each and every citizen of this Republic.

I am glad that displaced persons in our country have now started getting compensation in lieu of property left by them in Pakistan. It is a huge undertaking. Nevertheless Government has agreed to provide compensation to the best of its resources.

As before, this year also our country had a prominent role to play in international affairs. Our efforts to end the war in Korea have been in keeping with the Indian policy of helping attainment of peace and we are naturally happy that our efforts in that direction have been appreciated by many a foreign nation. When the hostilities in Korea came to an end as a result of the cease-fire agreement, we were asked to be a member of the Neutral Nations Commission to help in the solution of the question of the prisoners of war, and to take charge of the prisoners pending repatriation. Howsoever arduous or thankless

the task was, we undertook to do it and have tried to discharge this duty to the best of our ability. We look upon it as a unique opportunity for our armed forces to have been given such an assignment in a foreign land in the interest of peace and international goodwill. The election of Shrimati Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit as the President of the General Assembly of the U.N.O. is also a matter of legitimate pride for India and the women of the world, since she is the first women to be called upon to hold that high office.

Notwithstanding all this, we cannot afford to be complacent or rest on our oars. There is so much which still remains to be done for the well-being of our people. We are pledged to establish a Welfare State in India. It is the duty of such a government to raise the standard of living of the people in its charge and to meet their basic needs. To achieve this is not easy, and necessarily takes times. Now-a-days we hear about the problem of unemployment, specially among the educated class in towns. The Government is fully conscious of it and is adopting measures to tackle it. Our country is so big that no Government with the best of intentions can grapple with this problem successfully unless the people also lend their willing support and co-operation to its policies.

If India gets a good name at home or in the comity of nations, it will ultimately redound to the credit of our people. It is the people who are the backbone of a nation. A nation acquires the capacity to tide over difficulties from the character and high-mindedness of its people. You, the people of India, are truly the builders of the new India that is to be. Its future will depend on your determination, sacrifice and devotion. I fervently hope that you will ever strive to make India a happy and prosperous country.

*THE MISSION OF MANKIND.

We re-affirm today our faith in the ideals for the realisation of which the United Nations was established seven years ago. If the human race is to survive, continued efforts for the realisation of these ideals are more necessary today than ever before. For this purpose we should strive to transcend the narrow sphere of a racial, class or national conscience and try to shape our conduct in conformity with a world conscience.

We in this country feel that the evolution of such a world conscience is all the more necessary if we are to be able to provide our people the means of a good life. International peace, amity and co-operation in all walks of life are absolutely necessary if we are to realise our inner spiritual urge, develop our potential economic resources and remain faithful to our historic traditions of Ahimsa and toleration.

The United Nations provides the nucleus, however imperfect, round which this world conscience can grow. We in India have, therefore, tried to do our humble bit to enable it to realise the mission which history and the collective will of mankind has placed on it. Its progress towards its destined goal has been slow and tardy and occasionally it may even appear as if it were retracing its steps. Nevertheless it is true that the existence of this world conscience, imperfect and feeble though it may be today, has so far exercised a restraining influence on the forces of evil.

²⁰²² This, however, is not enough. The United Nations cannot be said to have reached its true stature unless it becomes the effective and guiding conscience of the world. I, therefore, feel that it is the duty of every one of us to assist and co-operate in the achievement of the ideals for which the United Nations stands and thus make it a guarantee for justice, peace and prosperity in the world.

*President's United Nations Day message broadcast on 24th October, 1952.

*ATMOSPHERE OF PEACE.

As in previous years, once again I am glad to join the Anniversary celebrations of the United Nations, which was founded on this day ten years ago. Every year on this day spokesmen of the Member Nations and others express their views assessing the work of this great organisation. Year after year we hear of criticism, approbation and opinions mingled with hope and despair. It is a proof of the sturdiness and basic soundness of the United Nations that it has continued its onward march despite all comments, adverse and favourable.

As I said in one of my earlier messages, an organisation based on the free will of the Nations of the world, unbacked by any kind of compulsion or military sanctions, is like a delicate sapling which has to be nurtured with all the care and soft handling we are capable of. Although the world has gone far ahead since the concept of an international assembly of Nations took birth, we cannot claim to have gone beyond the experimental stage in this respect. I do not mean to suggest that in its influence and jurisdiction, the United Nations Organisation has made no improvement upon its predecessor, the League of Nations. With all its failings, it is almost universally recognised today, it is not possible for the world to carry on without an International Organisation like the United Nations. This feeling has, luckily, grown strong with the advance of science and the modern apparatus of warfare. It is this feeling, which, I hope, is shared by large sections of people in all the countries, which provides real sanctions for the existence and growing strength of the United Nations. Personally, I have great faith in an institution like this which comes up in a climate of complete volition.

This year which is just going to be over has seen some very remarkable things. For the first time in many years there is no shooting war in any part of the world. In Korea, after prolonged

*President's United Nations Day Broadcast, 24th October, 1954.

and patient negotiations, not only was cease-fire achieved, but it has resulted in armistice which, let us hope, will be converted into lasting peace.

In Indo-China, as a result of negotiation between the parties concerned, with the assistance of the other nations, cease-fire has been achieved, and it is a matter of congratulations that we have been entrusted with the delicate and difficult task of supervising the cease-fire. We are all hoping that the goodwill that has been generated will lead to the termination of hostilities and the achievement of freedom by the people of the country concerned. In this connection it is also worthwhile noting that a general atmosphere of peace is likely to be brought about as a result of the removal of one of the causes of conflict, namely, colonialism which has always created discontent. While it is too early to say that colonialism is going to be liquidated, there are indications of the growing realisation of its objectionable features. Let us hope that with patience on the part of the people and goodwill on the part of the colonial powers, a stage will soon be reached when this cause of conflict will cease to operate in the Continents of Asia and Africa.

On this memorable day, let us renew our resolve to assist and co-operate in the achievement of the ideals for which the United Nations stands, so that it truly becomes a guarantee for justice, peace and prosperity in the world.

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At the Kanya Mahavidyalaya Jullundur

ON EDUCATION

*WOMEN AND NATIONAL ADVANCEMENT.

I can never resist a call from an educational institution, because I have been associated with such institutions throughout and have always taken a keen interest in education. I was, therefore, happy to accept your invitation; it is a pleasure to be in your midst and to confer degrees on many of the students assembled here.

You are fortunate indeed to receive education in this Kanya Mahavidyalaya—for this institution occupies an important place in this State and has made a remarkable contribution to the advancement of our women. This institution was founded many years ago by a true social-reformer who was inspired by lofty and sacred ideals of emancipation of women and national advancement and who had genuine reverence for womanhood. We have in our country two types of educational institutions:—those established by our English rulers for the achievement of their own ends and those founded independently by patriots and nationalists with a view to reviving our civilization and rebuilding our cultural traditions. The Kanya Mahavidyalaya was founded many years ago in pursuance of these sacred ideals, and those of you who are entering life after having completed your education in such an institution are really fortunate. You have obtained this higher degree, of course, but to have done so from this institution should also be a treasure of your life which must add to your laurels.

Those of you who have received their degrees are now stepping out of the limited sphere of the Gurukul into the vast arena of life—an arena of activity and struggle. You have on your shoulders heavy responsibilities, but I am confident that your experience and education will enable you to bear them with grace. So far you were students—now you will lead a practical

*President's convocation address at Kanya Mahavidyalaya, Jullundur, 29th September, 1952.

life and you have to march ahead in the face of multifarious problems. I hope the education you have received here will give you strength and energy to face them as responsible citizens of an independent country. But for that you should have a clear picture of what you are going to do in life.

I believe you all know that women occupied a position of great importance and dignity in ancient India—that they played an enviable role in domestic and social life and made a splendid contribution to an all-round development of society by virtue of their ingenuity, intellect and spirit of sacrifice. I need hardly remind you how they distinguished themselves in various arts and sciences—Mathematics, Ethics, Theology, Economics, Medicine, Domestic Science, etc., etc. The achievements of Sita, Savitri, Gargi and Kalavati are proud memories for us. The characters of our women in the past have been exalted and traditions glorious, and they can still be cited as examples for the woman today.

I am saying all this to bring home to you that the woman is an incarnation of divinity (devi), a sustainer (dhatrī), a creative energy which conduces to the growth and welfare of human society. By virtue of this creative power you can work in and outside the home for an all-round progress of society. Thus your responsibility is commensurate with your power. I attach great importance to the education of girls for these and similar reasons. However noble be our ideals and whatever system of Government we establish, however liberal and equitable be our economic and social philosophy, we cannot bring lasting peace and prosperity to our country unless the physical and mental make-up of our coming generation has sound foundation. I, therefore, hold that women can play a much more vital role in the home than in the factory or in the office. This, however, does not mean that I want them to be confined within the four walls of the house. Along with their domestic life they can and should participate successfully in various social activities to which they are naturally and equally entitled. But real

freedom and liberty only mean that the woman employs all her faculties not only for her individual development—but also for the total development of the society—conducting ultimately to the welfare of humanity at large, wherein is included her individual self also.

According to the ancient traditions and lofty ideals of Indian womanhood you have not only to educate yourself but also to progress thereafter in all directions as the companions of men. After freedom, now, you have also to play your part in the work of national reconstruction. This is possible only when we amend our present system of education to suit our purpose. Here also our country is faced with conflicting ideologies. The modern Reformists—those who style themselves as Progressivists—contend that boys and girls should be educated together under the same system of education. They hold that the woman should be treated on a basis of equality not only in the domain of education but in all fields and walks of life, that she should have complete social freedom and should be able to participate in all activities and occupations as an equal partner of man. These people want that the system of education should also be modelled accordingly. Diametrically opposed is the view of the Orthodox camp. Thus we have today conflicting ideologies regarding the education of women. We have naturally to consider carefully which of these two will suit us better and help in the advancement of our culture and civilization. If you ask me, I shall, of course, advise you to choose the middle-course effecting a compromise between the two.

The one main defect of modern education—besides various other flaws and shortcomings—is that it is very expensive. Every year we are turning out from our Universities thousands of students who—at least many of them—fail to get employment and find it difficult to make both ends meet. Thus our Universities are on the one hand adding to the number of the unemployed and on the other breeding dandies in swarms. Girls and boys of ordinary middle-class families, when they go into schools or colleges, fall victims to prevalent fashions and start imitating

their fellow-collegians in costly dress and toilets which make their living pretty expensive and thus create difficulties for their guardians. Naturally after such an expensive education when they go out of their schools and colleges, it is quite likely that their life becomes a burden, because this expensive education cannot be sufficiently lucrative. It cannot get them jobs—and ultimately they begin to feel that it is useless. We have, therefore, to think very carefully whether this system of education is good for us as such or it needs amendment. Wisdom does not lie in blind adherence to conventions.

The question before us is—and we must give it due thought: what changes or amendments should be made in our present system of education so that it can effectively help our boys and girls to lead a successful and self-dependent life? In this context quite naturally we recall to our minds a different system—a system which not only educates but also equips a student to become self-reliant and earn for himself. A system can be really fruitful if besides imparting liberal education it also teaches the dignity of labour to the student and makes him work. This new system of education Mahatma Gandhi called 'Nai Talim'—in this knowledge was imparted and an all-round development of personality was effected through constructive work. Our institutions can greatly benefit by this method and create a healthy atmosphere of self-reliance within their premises. This would help in solving the problem of unemployment to a certain extent and also develop those faculties of our children on which the real progress of mankind ultimately depends.

For a woman, in particular, efficiency is indispensable. She should be able to co-operate fully with man in home life. She should be a good house-wife and should not look down upon the smallest household duties. It would be unfortunate if higher education led women to shirk or shun their domestic duties. A woman's real dignity lies in her efficiency and self-reliance. Some interpret self-dependence narrowly as being equipped for

a job or a profession. But true self-dependence implies minimum dependence on others. Is it not self-dependence to manage the entire work of the household? Conversely—is that not the worst form of dependence to need a nurse for the upbringing of one's children—nay even for giving them a breast-feed. Therefore, true self-reliance means minimum dependence whether of the mistress on the maid or *vice-versa*.

Nature—and God—have chosen woman for the task of perpetuating the human race (which she alone can do). Women as well as society must realise the implications of this proud and unique responsibility and it must be reflected in whatever system of education is adopted for them. It is not necessary that both men and women should do all types of work—such is not Nature's dispensation. The woman must therefore equip herself for her primary responsibility—a responsibility which does not end but begins with procreation and entails life-long effort for the betterment of man. Our girls must be educated in all these basic duties of women so that they can play their role in the advancement of the nation.

I thank you once again because you and your institution are devoted to this great mission of the emancipation of women, to the development of society in its real sense and to the welfare of humanity as a whole. I do hope you will always keep in view the advancement of human culture and the role of women therein, and work accordingly so that your institution becomes a veritable shrine of love and co-operation, diffusing peace and purity in Indian life through truth and non-violence.

In the end, I should congratulate these girls once again who are now entering life after receiving education in such a centre of learning and culture. I wish them every success.

Thank you all, ladies and gentlemen, for the cordial reception you have given me.

*AN EMBODIMENT OF TAGORE'S IDEALS.

I consider it a great privilege for me to have this opportunity of coming to this sacred spot hallowed by the dedicated life of Maharshi and the centre selected by Gurudev to establish his dear institution to enshrine his ideals and aspirations. Gurudev had laid the seed of this institution and had watered it with all his strength and unceasing daily service. It is our misfortune that he is no more bodily present amidst us but the spirit is immortal and through various forms and in various ways goes on inspiring and nourishing good deeds in the world. Every particle of this land has the impress of his footprints. There is not a pebble nor a plant nor a tree nor a single corner of the buildings and houses here which does not have on it the imprint of his personality and which is not illumined by his divine light. So it would be presumptuous on my part to say anything about it, but even then it may not perhaps be unnecessary to place again before you and others the position and history of Shantiniketan and Vishwa Bharati in the context of the present-day conditions.

Many decades ago the Shantiniketan Ashrama had been founded by Maharshi Devendranath Tagore, the revered father of Gurudev as a retreat for religious meditation and contemplation. Since its establishment, it has passed through three stages of evolution. For some time it was mainly a centre of spiritual life, but in the early years of this century Gurudev founded here Bolpur Brahmacharya Ashram where children used to receive education after their initiation in Brahmacharya. In 1923 it reached the third stage and the Vishwa Bharati University was established here. Since its very inception its evolution had taken place in a beautiful natural environment and a spiritual atmosphere. So it was but natural that the ideals of this University were settled in accordance with that innate spirituality

*President's convocation address at Vishwa-Bharati, 23rd December, 1952.



President delivering the convocation address at Viswabharati

and were so stated in the memorandum prepared for registration at that time. These are:

“To study the mind of Man in its realisation of different aspects of truth from diverse points of view.

To bring into more intimate relation with one another, through patient study and research, the different cultures of the East on the basis of their underlying unity.

To approach the West from the standpoint of such a unity of the life and thought of Asia.

To seek to realise in a common fellowship of study the meeting of East and West, and thus ultimately to strengthen the fundamental conditions of world peace through the establishment of free communication of ideas between the two hemispheres.

And with such Ideal in view to provide at Shantiniketan aforesaid a centre of Culture where research into and study of the religion, literature, history, science and art of Hindu, Buddhist, Jain, Islamic, Sikh, Christian and other civilizations may be pursued along with the culture of the West, with that simplicity in externals which is necessary for true spiritual realisation, in amity, good fellowship and co-operation between the thinkers and scholars of both Eastern and Western countries, free from all antagonisms of race, nationality, creed or caste, and in the name of the One Supreme Being who is Shantam, Shivam, Advaitam.”

If one examines these aims it becomes evident that Gurudev desired to realise mainly three objectives through the Vishwa Bharati. In the first place it was his conviction that enabling the rising generation to share in the experience which the human mind has had or is having of the various forms and aspects of truth can alone be termed as true education and so insisted that

every educational institution should try to assist its students to share in this experience. Secondly, it was his view that even though the manifestation of truth in different countries of the world has assumed different and differing forms, yet in the countries of both the East and the West there is an underlying fundamental unity behind all these different manifestations of truth. So he wanted this institution to devote itself to the study of the various manifestations of Truth in the different countries of the East and the West on the basis of this fundamental unity and to the study of the different cultures of all the countries and thereby and through research into them he desired that the people of the East should be brought into cultural harmony with those of the West and be enabled to have better understanding of and respect for the ideals and ideas of one another so that they may together and in co-operation establish in the world the fundamental and essential conditions of peace. Thirdly, it was his heart's desire that this cultural centre should become the voice of the World Consciousness, that is to say, here men may have a commerce of feelings and ideals on the basis of their fundamental unity and under the divine shadow of the great Lord who is Shantam, Shivam, Advaitam and in complete freedom from all considerations and mental barriers of colour, nationality, religion and caste and thus may create such a new consciousness in the entire world as would not be a prisoner within narrow spheres and would embrace within its bosom the entire race of man. It was with this view that he had adopted the motto of this University as "Yatra Vishwa Bharati eka Nidam".

For the realisation of these ideals Gurudev considered it essential that the mutual relations between the teachers and the taught should be of a special kind and their ways of living also should be in harmony with these Ideals. As I have just said, to his mind the purpose of this University was to pursue the study of Truth and the complete Truth with single-minded devotion and in a dedicated and sacrificial spirit and with great perseverance. It is quite evident that if this pursuit of Truth

is to be carried on in a proper manner, the teachers and the pupils should have a special attitude of their own towards Life. They must accept this pursuit of truth as the supreme obligation of their life, and that no calculation of gain or loss should enter into their mind for a single moment while undertaking it. It was to indicate this truth that Gurudev had once written to one of his teacher friends that *"the period of study for children is a period of dedication. The consummation of one's manhood lies not in Self but in Service—this truth was known to our ancestors. They used to term the education, basic to the self-realisation of man, as the life of Brahmacharya. It does not consist in committing to memory a few bits of learning or passing examinations. Indeed the life of Brahmacharya is but another name for striving to identify oneself with the world and ancestors. They used to term the education basic to the self-restraint, devotion, faith, purity and single-mindedness. This is a kind of religious duty. There are numerous things in the world which can be the subject of sale and purchase but Dharma is entirely different from them. It is not an article of commerce. It has to be on the one hand given in a spirit of charity and has to be accepted by others in a spirit of humility and devotion. It was for this reason that education in ancient India was not an article of sale. Those who are engaged in teaching in the modern times are no doubt teachers but those doing so in the ancient days were gurus. Along with knowledge they used to give to their pupils something which cannot be given or taken except on the basis of the spiritual relationship of the Master and the pupil."

It is evident from this writing of Gurudev that he held the view that it was a duty and obligation of the teacher to illumine the heart of his pupils by his spiritual light and to impart to them a vision of truth which would lead to the fulfilment of their lives. In other words a teacher should be like a lighted lamp which not only illumines the lives of the new generation but

*Translated from the original.

also transforms them into so many lighted lamps. An urge to be like such lighted lamps can arise among the teachers only by virtue of their inner nature and aptitudes and they can remain so in their lives only if such service is their ideal and aspiration, and if they feel that the supreme consummation of their lives lies in becoming such lighted candles. It is evident that to fulfil such an urge their lives must be fully balanced and in tune with the world consciousness. Pointing towards this truth Gurudev had once written that *‘‘I hope that the teachers here would be able to harmonise their lives with the life of this Brahmacharya Ashram in all eagerness and gladness by developing the ethical consciousness within them and not out of fear of any disciplinary authority. Just as they would be receiving daily the obeisance and service of their pupils so also they would be able to inspire real faith in the latter by a life of self-sacrifice and self-restraint. Partisanship, impatience, irritation, pride, unhappiness, fickleness, small-mindedness and lack of consideration—they must strive to free themselves from all such minor or major evils. All their teachings to their pupils would go to waste if they do not themselves practise sacrifice and restraint and if they fail to do so the purity of this Asram would continue to be polluted. We would have to be extremely careful to see that the pupils may not develop the attitude of outward respect and inward contempt for their teachers’’.

A similar sentiment was expressed by him on another occasion in the following words: *‘‘We had learnt a great truth about education. We had grasped the truth that man can learn only from man just as a pond fills only with water; a candle is lighted only by a candle and life gets an impulse only from life. By trying to trim a man into a particular form he ceases to be a man, for, then he becomes merely a material for office, court or a factory and instead of being a man he wants to be a master, instead of imparting life he only imparts a lesson. He becomes then an expert in making the children cram lessons.

*Translated from the original.

The process of education flows like blood in a living organism only if it is carried on in an atmosphere of complete spiritual affinity between the teacher and the pupil, for, the real obligation of the nature and culture of the children is on their parents and the assistance of some other capable person becomes extremely important only if the parents either lack the ability or the opportunity to discharge this duty. Naturally this purpose cannot be served without the teacher taking the place of parents. We cannot purchase this supreme good of life by money. We can make it a part of our lives only through love, devotion and faith." Unfortunately in this commercial age the cash nexus has invaded the sphere of education and it may be greatly doubted whether it is now possible to think of banishing the cash nexus from that sphere. But no one need deny the truth that to illumine the spirit of the pupil it is essential that the inner being of the teacher must also have been illumined. Though he may take some monetary reward in order to satisfy the cravings of his hunger and to provide himself with the other necessities of life, yet he should approach his vocation of a teacher with the belief that therein alone lies fulfilment of his life, the consummation of his manhood and his perception of the supreme truth and that thereby alone he can achieve salvation from all the sighs and sufferings, pains and poverty, insults and humiliations. I cannot say as to how far the teachers today have taken a vow to follow this ideal and how far they have striven to make themselves capable of embracing it. But it was the hope, the faith and the brief of Gurudev that those accepting the obligations of teaching at Vishwa Bharati would be persons of such firm vows and that they would consider education to mean the process of the kindling of light in the human spirit.

It was because Gurudev accepted humanity as the greatest wealth that he held the view that in all centres of humanism otherwise known as educational institutions life should be wholly simple and without ostentation. He was of the view that material possessions are a hindrance to a certain extent

in the self-realisation of the spirit. For he felt that because of these material possessions, a person is shut out from having a correct view of the realities of human life. The world is not a drawing room and so those who want to view it from their seat in the drawing room can never have a correct understanding of it. Pointing out towards this truth he said that "it is a sign of weakness of character to show discontent and unreasonable annoyance for lack of material possessions. It is quite good that our possessions should be few and we should have a habit of serving our needs with few possessions. If children are able to fulfil all their desires without any effort, they become quite wholly and it prevents their proper development. It is not a fact that children desire too many things. Indeed they are self-content and are able to live happily by themselves. It is we the elders who impose on them the burden of the love of adornment and thus fill them with the craving for material possessions. The object of education from the very beginning should be to habituate the child to begin to think as to how he can serve all his needs with the fewest possible objects. It is only where external help is little that the body and the mind of a person gets proper attention. It is then that the creative spirit of man becomes active. Those in whose being this creative spirit does not become active are swept away by nature like ordinary refuse." Besides this, he was also of the view that for true education it is essential that the individual should be able to harmonise himself with Nature because he felt that the individual is but an aspect of the consciousness that palpitates in the bosom of both Nature and Life. In the red glow of the morning sun, in the murmuring stream of the river, in the crown of snow of the mountains and in the leaves and shadows of trees one perceives the glimpse of the same consciousness which is illuminating the heart of man. And so it was his belief that man cannot realise himself so long as he does not realise the consciousness that is in the bosom of nature and has not perceived his unity with it. It was for this reason that he had founded this institution in the heart of beautiful

Nature and instead of expecting the students to confine themselves within the four walls of the lecture-rooms and to go on cramming books he had asked them to strive to put themselves in tune with Nature here. More than this, he was of the view that no education can be considered to be true education unless it is complete in all respects—that is to say unless it does seek to realise the truth in all its aspects—whether it is manifested in human society or in the individual personality or in the phenomena of Nature or in the devoted pursuit of Beauty and Truth. So he also insisted that the life of teachers and pupils alike should be closely bound up with the life of the people in bonds of sympathy and intimacy. It was a matter of regret for him that *‘persons receiving education in Universities did not even think of the great human mass silently moving forward in an invisible manner’. He was also of the view that *‘if out of our indifference we pay no attention to the people, the latter would not wait for attracting our attention but would move forward, for the new life of the new age was unceasingly working within them to make them forge ahead. One cannot understand one’s country and people unless he is aware of the direction in which these changes are occurring and the form that they are taking. I do not say that to know the country is our ultimate aim. But I do feel that our life would acquire great significance if we become familiar with the tendencies and urges that are influencing the masses in whatever country they may be. True education consists in directly reading the book of life rather than the printed books. Such a course enables one not only to understand but also gives such capacity of understanding as cannot be acquired in the class rooms’.

Education is thus another aspect of Truth itself. So his vision was not circumscribed by any narrow walls of region, religion, colour, caste or sex. It is true that he had deep love for his country, for its history and for its culture. He has at one

*Translated from the original.

place said that "I want the students of this institution to cultivate devoted love for the country. Just as the parents are incarnations of divinity so also is the country. Just as the parents must be worshipped so also should the country. But I want to pay special attention to see to it that the students here may not develop the habit of making light of their country in comparison to any other out of any inferiority complex, indifference or contempt. We would never be able to fulfil ourselves by going against our national genius".

But his love for the country did not in the least imply that people here were to remain indifferent or contemptuous towards other nations and peoples. On the contrary, it was his belief that the pursuit of Truth can never be considered complete until and unless mankind rising above these narrow boundaries devotes itself in all co-operation and mutual love to the pursuit of Truth and Truth alone. It was with this view that he invited to this cultural centre scholars and thinkers of repute from Asia, Europe and America and asked them to illumine the minds of the youngmen of the rising generation of this country with the flame of their experience, and it was his earnest desire that it should become the centre of a new humanity on Earth and that it should become the voice of the Renascent man. He did not want to make it a centre of mere bookish education and in fact he considered that loading the mind of the young with book-learning is extremely injurious. Pointing out towards this Truth he has said at one place that *"there cannot be a more dangerous burden on the mind of the young than lifeless education. In comparison to whatever little such an education gives to the mind it crushes out much more from it". Therefore, he insisted that education should be vital and he felt that it can be vital only when it concerns itself with the whole Truth, with the whole of mankind and with the world consciousness. He used to say that *"However this may be done we have to capture the spirit of Man", for he was

*Translated from the original.

of the view that *‘no Valdyaraj can save us from destruction merely by making us swallow a pill of any particular system’.

It was, therefore, that from the very beginning he made this institution the centre of a new humanity—of which the individual has love for human values delighted by the beauties of nature, is the single-minded devotee of the ethical consciousness in the bosom of the universe and has completely identified himself with the World Spirit.

Today the Government has given legal recognition to this institution and has also assumed the responsibility for providing financial aid to it, but the heart and body of this institution, its soul and consciousness have been shaped neither by the money of the State nor by the articles of Law. It is indeed the visible embodiment of the spirit of Gurudev and so I feel that it is the duty of all of us to guard the purity of its original form and unceasingly strive to make it move in the direction to which he had set its face. Today Gurudev is beckoning us to discharge this duty. It is his obligation on us and it is our duty towards his memory that you should serve whole-heartedly and with all your resources this institution which is a Trust left by him and which is a symbol and promise of the new human culture and consciousness. May God give you the strength and the courage to discharge successfully this great responsibility that you owe to Gurudev.

*SPIRIT OF RECONCILIATION.

MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR, RAJAH MUTHIAH CHETTIYAR, MEMBERS OF
THE UNIVERSITY, STUDENTS AND FRIENDS,—

I am grateful for the opportunity that has been afforded to me to meet you this afternoon. During the last four or five days I have been visiting places which have afforded solace to millions and millions of people for ages past and which are going to afford solace of a similar kind to generations yet to be born. While visiting these places I have also seen the great architecture which is a speciality of these parts, the like of which you do not see in that part of the country from which I come. I have been reminded time after time of the greatness of those who conceived the idea of erecting these temples, of those who actually worked on them and ultimately succeeded in creating these works of perfect art and I must confess that I feel somewhat jealous because I cannot find that kind of thing in the north to compare with these great things in the south. I do not regard them or regard you as different from me or from that part of the country from which I come. Therefore, I feel that our ancestors, our seers and sages in their great wisdom have bound us all together by silken ties which time, vicissitudes, foreign invasions and political upheavals have not been able to cut asunder. And today India right from Kanya Kumari to Kailas, right from Jagannath Puri to Dwarka is one and God willing shall ever continue to remain one. We have had differences of language, of custom, of ways of living prevalent in this country for centuries. But underlying all these differences there has been an under-current of unity, nay of full unity which has kept India together in spite of political differences in this vast land.

It has been rightly pointed out by you, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, that there is a genius of reconciling different ideas which is inherent in our land and it is that genius which has preserved this ancient land, its glory, its civilization and its culture which are

*Speech at the Annamalai University, 21st February, 1953.

even today, I make bold to say, not inferior to that of any other part of the world. Until, say, two centuries ago, our people in this country were in no way inferior to any other part of the world in any matter, be that in the sphere of arts or sciences. During the last two centuries or so we have, for reasons which I need not dilate upon at this moment, fallen far behind others in modern scientific knowledge and scientific research. We have now won freedom and it is a well recognised fact of history that whenever such a great event takes place as the winning of freedom a great renaissance follows which conquers new land, brings new ideas and brings into play forces which give new light to every department of life. We are hoping that with the beginning of this freedom we are going to have a great reconciliation in this country which will bring out the best that we have; and also, I will not hesitate also to say, take the best that others may have to offer us. The process of reconciliation began, if I may say so, ten years ago.

With the achievement of material sciences, there is a general stampede in favour of those things. We are sometimes in a hurry to discard things which have come down to us from generations past simply because we cannot reconcile them with modern things. But I say with great respect to all friends who hold that view that the scientific spirit requires that nothing should be discarded as nothing should be accepted without examination or analysis and I plead that there is much in our past which has to be studied and examined, the true meaning of which has to be appreciated, and when that is done, I have in my mind no doubt whatsoever that we shall never have reason to feel sorry later. I have no doubt we shall in that event ever be able to look to other people with a certain amount of pride. For, after all, our past is not to be despised. It is something which can inspire the present and the future.

Today the world is passing through a great crisis. Technical achievements in science have reached a stage where unless and until they are controlled and guided by moral and spiritual forces,

they will destroy themselves and the world and there it is that our great heritage can play its part. But can we do that today? I am afraid, not. We have to acquire that position for ourselves by reviving something of the past, by modernising it and adapting it to modern conditions and also by adopting something of the modern world to equip ourselves for that great task. Unfortunately, a great leader who understood the significance of the past and the significance of the modern world is no more with us. Gandhiji was in his own way trying to bring out a conciliation between the two. He had, I believe, hoped to be able to live long enough to give true guidance to the world at large. While he was engaged in the struggle for freedom, he refused to go to foreign countries because he felt that he had no message to give to the world until he had found a good place for it in his own country. When freedom was achieved and if God permitting, things had settled down, he would have been able to give his great message of reconciliation to the world. Unfortunately that was not to be. The great legacy that he has left us is there and it is for us to prove ourselves worthy of that great legacy if we can.

I look upon our universities as centres where this kind of conciliation would grow, where this kind of life should be actually lived, where teachers and the taught should not rest content with only a certain amount of undigested information but also mould the character which will not be satisfactory until it brings about complete harmony between word and deed. That is what we want our universities to do. Unfortunately universities have had a history of their own and they have not been able to get out of that yet. I have expressed my dissatisfaction with them on various occasions and I am therefore pleased to hear from you, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, that you are going to attempt something in that direction, which I look upon as a great experiment for the future of our country. After all it is the young people who are going to run the country after a few years and unless they prepare themselves and are helped by their teachers to get themselves prepared, we cannot expect that they will be able to run the country as we



President addressing the staff and students of Annamalai University
Annamalai

wish it to be run. Therefore the responsibility that falls on the teachers and the taught is great and I hope and trust that in our own time this university will grow into a centre from where you will turn out young people not only intelligently educated, not only full of information of the latest things but also men with character who will be able to take the leadership of the country when the time comes.

You have rightly said that in the university there should be no discipline from outside. There should be discipline of the university alone. If you permit me, I would go further and say that the student should not require any discipline even from the teacher. He should discipline himself. That is the best kind of discipline. Someone else has said that that Government is the best which governs the least. I am a believer in that saying and when I say that, I do not mean that each one of you young people who are present here, should take whatever action you like according to your own notions, but I mean that there should be discipline in your own actions which would prevent you from doing anything which is harmful, which is not consistent with dignity or honour and if you have that dignity and that kind of character and that kind of discipline, it will not be necessary for the Vice-Chancellor or any of the teachers to take any action against you. I sometimes wonder if the Indian Penal Code prevents our people from committing theft. It is really that inherent sense of right and wrong which prevents our people from committing crimes. If you look at it and consider it, it is a very simple matter, but most people do not give thought to it. You will find it is not the Penal Code but your own inherent sense of right and wrong that prevents you from committing crime. The Penal Code is used in exceptional cases for preventing it. The discipline that the university imposes upon you should be even lesser than that and that can only be when you develop your own honour, your own sense of right and wrong, your own sense of treating your brothers and sisters with regard and consideration. You must develop that kind of character which will enable you to run the country in the future.

I am, therefore, very happy that here you are going also to inaugurate the Faculty for the cultivation of fine arts. In university education, generally speaking, they want importance to be laid on this, particularly in older universities and I think something has been done in recent years in this regard. Speaking of the days when I was a student, there was nothing of these things in our curricula. Life becomes dreary unless it has something which could be given to others and it is this which finally gives joy. Let not fine arts be based on things which may clash. Let them be sublimated into something which rouses the highest spiritual feelings. We have got living examples of this in the temples of these parts. I wish you to cultivate this art in that spirit.

It is a good thing that your university is going to take up that faculty also as one of its departments. We have now reached a stage when great things have to be achieved. We were up to a few years ago engaged in the struggle for freedom but that was against a foreign power. That struggle is, I hope, now over. But a different kind of struggle has to be faced and that struggle is how to raise our people in material prosperity, how to make them better men and women and happier. This struggle is no less difficult, no less momentous; in fact, I feel that this struggle is even more difficult than the one we had against a foreign power. And therefore it is essential that the very best that you are capable of should be offered at the shrine of the country, so that generations which are to come in the future will remember that the foundations were laid well by those who had fought and won freedom, that the foundations for the future too had been built by them and those who came in contact with them were brought up to take up responsibilities. In turn, you have to carry this torch and pass it on to generations who come after you and so on. There is no end to progress in this world and India will one day again become what it was once, a land of which we were proud and of which other countries were envious. It is not an idle dream. It can be achieved and, God willing, it shall be achieved.

We hear the question of north and the south sometimes mentioned. In spite of differences of language, there has been

an under-current of thought and spirit which has been a marked feature for ages. It is up to you and to us, that is, the people of the north and the south, to strengthen this bond further. In that lies the future and the salvation of our country—and I promise that whatever little strength that is left in me shall be devoted to strengthening that culture that binds us all together and removing obstacles that may be in the way of our recognising each other's strength and weakness, and of becoming even in a more real sense members of one family, held together by love, by associations, by the vision of the future which will be as glorious as the past. I thank you all.

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*THREE-FOLD AIM OF EDUCATION.

This is the first time after this university assumed its present form that I have come here to say a few words to its professors and students. Amongst the Universities which can be termed new in the sense that not even half a century has passed since their establishment, this University—except the Banaras University—may perhaps be said to be the oldest. But it was only a little time ago that it assumed its present form and from that point of view it may be said to be the youngest of these new Universities. Naturally its traditions have not yet become so rigid as to make it difficult for it to move in any direction it chooses for itself. I, therefore, expect it to maintain a system of education which would enable it to fulfil all the purposes which education has in the life of man. I have observed on several occasions and at several places previously that our present educational system, whether of the primary or secondary schools or of the Universities does not seem to be fulfilling those purposes and that, at any rate, it is not fulfilling those objectives in a balanced way. With your permission, I would like to say a few words about this question today.

In my view the objectives of education are three, two of which relate more or less to the life of the individual as such while the third is concerned with his collective life. Its first objective is to enhance the power and capacity of reason of the individual given to him by God. It is true that reason is a gift made by nature or God to man at his birth. But in its pristine form its capacity and power are extremely limited. If a person were to be left to depend on his untutored reason alone he would not be able to use it to do any good to himself or to his fellows due to severe limitations of space and time. But if this rational faculty is enriched by the accumulated experience of the past generations, its power and capacity are increased very greatly, for

*Translation of President's address in Hindi at the convocation of Patna University, 11th March, 1953.

then, the individual is able to grasp numerous truths of great utility relating to himself and the animate and inanimate world around him which he could not possibly have learnt by means of his own unaided reason. In other words the educational process makes his reason so powerful and capable as to understand the nature of his own personality and that of the animate and inanimate world around him and while living in it to direct his life in the right channel. It is, therefore, not improper to say that education, in one sense, is a process of acquainting and enriching every new generation with the accumulated experience and knowledge of the past generations and thereby enhancing the capacity and power of their reason.

The second objective of education is to so train the senses of every individual human being as would enable him to employ them for fulfilling successfully all his physical and other needs. While knowledge is, no doubt, essential for a proper employment of these organs, their practical training is also necessary for the same purpose. However vigorous or energetic a man may be, he cannot effectively undertake any work unless his bodily organs are also properly trained and have some experience of that kind of work.

The third purpose of education, in my view, is that it should evoke in the individual the qualities necessary to enable him to live and work with his fellows. Whether a person likes it or not, he has to live with his fellows. No one can wholly retire from the world and live in an isolated cottage of his own. The life of complete solitude is nothing but a beautiful fancy of the poet; it is not and cannot be a fact of life. It is possible that an individual may live in solitude for a little time but he cannot do so for all his life. So when collective life is an inevitable and ineluctable fact of human life, it is absolutely necessary that every individual should be fully conversant with the art of collective living.

In the ages gone by when the scale of collective life was quite limited and when economic processes had not become highly concentrated, there was no great necessity for an organised effort

to achieve these three objectives or to maintain at every instant a balance amongst them. But today when the scale of collective life is almost world-wide and when economic processes have become concentrated beyond imagination, it has become highly necessary to make intense efforts to help the individual realise these objectives in his life not only in the realm of mind but also in that of action.

So it is that in the past few decades people have been feeling in all parts of the world the necessity for a fundamental change in the educational system inherited by them from the past. We find that in fact different kinds of changes have been taking place in the educational system of different countries of the world. I would not be wrong if I say that in the educational sphere also a revolution has been taking place similar to that which has occurred in the economic and political spheres. In our country and especially in the State of Bihar, unfortunately, there has been no such far-reaching change or revolution in the sphere of education. People here have no doubt been thinking about this problem but I am afraid that so far there has been no outward effect worth mentioning of such reflections.

It is true that our educational institutions are fulfilling to a certain extent the first objective of education. The alumni of these institutions are, no doubt, being acquainted with some part of the accumulated wisdom of the past generations but the purpose for which such acquaintance is undertaken, that is to say, to awaken and strengthen and make more capable the individual mind, is not being fulfilled. Our young men and women of the rising generation are not found to be focii of thought. It is true that from these institutions come out now and then some rare individuals whose mind is full alert, awakened, and quite forceful. But I feel that it would not be proper to say in the name of these few and rare individuals that our present educational institutions are illumining the heart of man. In my view there are several reasons for failure in this direction. I may mention here some of the most important.

Firstly, a great part of the accumulated knowledge or experience of the past generations with which our young people are being acquainted in these educational institutions, has absolutely no relation or relevance to the daily life of these young people or to the world around them or to their collective life. Naturally this heritage of the past appears to these young people somewhat unmeaningful, useless and unassimilable. It, therefore, remains a mere burden on their mind and they forget all about it soon after leaving these institutions. Another reason appears to be that the linguistic medium through which they are acquainted with this accumulated experience of the past is not an element of their daily and collective life and remains more or less unfamiliar to them inspite of their making all efforts to master it. It is, therefore, quite natural that this heritage of ideas, instead of being a torch to light the lamp of their mind, has become a sort of absorbent which soaks up even the oil of that lamp. Whereas this heritage of the past should have been a lever increasing a thousand-fold the capacity of the individual mind, it is in fact a sort of festering sore rendering the latter quite impotent and ineffective.

But the story does not end here. Our educational institutions are doing almost nothing to realise the other two objectives of education. We have hardly any educational institutions where an effort is made to make the individual so efficient in manual work as would enable him to earn by his own labour sufficient wealth to meet all his needs. Arrangements for practical training in trade, agriculture, industry, etc., are almost non-existent in our country. Our primary and secondary schools do not concern themselves at all with this kind of practical training. Even amongst our higher educational institutions, there are only very few which have anything to do with such training. Nearly all of them are at present engaged in acquainting their students with the ideas and thought of the past generations or of the elders of the present generation. Naturally we find that the graduates of these institutions are not skilled in practical work though they may be quite good at talking. So

long as they had to earn their livelihood as brokers and interpreters of the foreign empire in this country, their ability to talk was useful to them, but today when we have to rear a new India by our own hard labour this skill in talking cannot have that importance. The result is that even those of our graduates who are quite good at talking are now finding considerable difficulty in making a place in life and often have to drink the bitter cup of failure.

Even this is not all. Finding their labour for years to be quite useless and fruitless for their own life, many of our youths are becoming victims of blind discontent and anger against their own fate and fellows and are not able to see a way out. Moreover those now at our educational institutions are not even able to acquire a good acquaintance of the heritage of the past with which these institutions seek to familiarise them. In my view one of the reasons for the fall in the standards of education of which there is a general complaint today, is that our youths do not benefit at all from the education which is being now imparted in our educational institutions.

This poison has not only corroded our individual life but is also now spreading into our collective life. Our present educational system does not concern itself at all with implanting the essential qualities for a collective life amongst our new generation. So if in this situation our new generation remains devoid of the qualities essential for collective life, there should be no reason for surprise. Indeed it appears to me that our present educational system does not at all seem to concern itself with the development of those qualities in our youth which are essential for a good collective life.

Our present educational system is thus as unbalanced and ill-formed as would appear to be a man with a protruding body and skinny feet and legs. Whatever may be the reason for this, the entire effort of our present-day educational institutions seems to be merely to acquaint the students with a very limited aspect

of knowledge and not at all to make them skilful at work or nice social beings. I, therefore, believe that amongst other reforms necessary in this system, it is also necessary to establish a balance in its objectives.

We in this country must decide as to how many scholars and skilled workers we require for our country. It is quite evident that for every age and for every country both scholars and workers are necessary. But in the circumstances in which our country is placed today we are in need of a larger number of skilled workers as compared to more scholars. We have to expand our economic production as early as possible so as to meet the needs of the millions of our countrymen. I may also add that amongst the conditions that have to be fulfilled for expanding production are a fairly good standard of health of our people and familiarity with modern economic and industrial organisation and processes. We have at once to work to realise these three objectives, and so we need today hundreds of thousands of skilled technicians. These technicians would have to understand that they cannot expect to get a greater share of the national cake merely because of their having technical skill. They would have to approach their task with the faith that at all costs to themselves they have to provide conditions which would make the life of our future generations happy and prosperous. It is, therefore, my view that our educational institutions should now start laying more emphasis on technical skill and that there should now be arrangements for providing technical training of different kinds. If technical institutes could be established in every one of our towns and districts or if our present educational institutions there could so transform themselves, I think much of the unbalance in our present educational system would disappear.

I also believe that there should also be arrangements in our educational system for implanting qualities essential for collective life. I feel that we should not remain satisfied by trying to impart team-spirit in the game field alone. One of the other

ways in which this can be done is to organise teams in our educational institutions which would compete amongst themselves to make their contribution to collective development and progress of our country and would not only become thereby acquainted with the life of our masses but would also become one with them.

It is of course not a matter of doubt that our universities should especially be the centres of the life giving light of knowledge. There should be arrangements there for every kind of research and particularly there should be arrangements for that type of research which is related to the problems of the region in which that University is situated. While I agree that the University should remain detached from the madding noise of our daily life, yet I think that this detachment need not imply that it should not have any concern whatever with our national and regional life. On the other hand I feel that it should be considered to be successful only when it has become such a guide of the region, as after fully understanding the problems of that area, can show the people there the way to solve their problems successfully. I am afraid that our universities have not so far assumed this role in our lives. But I am convinced that they cannot succeed and cannot be useful for our people without doing so.

I also feel that you here have still to go very far in this direction. On account of its comparative youth this University has not been able to do much in the sphere of research. I, however, believe that you are quite aware of this and are determined to march forward and achieve success.

Your history at any rate expects this of you. It was in this very region that there was situated that world-renowned university from which flowed the life giving current that continued to fertilise the lives of the people of the entire world for thousands of years. It was from this region that thinkers, craftsmen and saints went out to the civilised world with the

message of culture and humanism. You have to re-achieve that immortal renown. I pray to God to give you the strength, the wisdom, the determination and the devotion to duty which are necessary to make this university the fountain-head of a life of culture.

You, the Graduates who are entering the sphere of life today, have my good wishes and blessings with you and I expect that by remaining firm on the path of righteousness and devoting yourself to the service of the people you would be fulfilling yourselves.

*INSPIRING TEACHERS WITH LOVE OF KNOWLEDGE.

I am thankful to your Principal for this opportunity to meet you all and address a few words to you. It is a great day in the history of an educational institution when it comes to have suitable premises and buildings where education can be imparted in congenial environments along right lines.

As far as I know, yours is the youngest college affiliated to the Delhi University, but I am sure it is young only in age in the context of the Delhi University. Actually, I know, it incorporates the traditions of one of the oldest and probably the biggest institutions of undivided Punjab, I mean the D. A. V. College of Lahore. Your remarkable progress and all-round good results, not only in University examinations but in the spheres of sports and elocution, unmistakably carry behind them a long tradition, going back to the closing years of the 19th century. Nevertheless, your institution has started afresh and in every sense of the word it had a new lease of life seven years ago. Therefore, you deserve a word of felicitation from all. Let me also take this opportunity of offering my congratulations to you all for having rehabilitated yourself so nicely in so short a period.

I have been pleased to learn of the extra-curricular activities of the students and teachers of this college. Study of prescribed books is no doubt important, but of no less importance are other activities which contribute so much to the all-round development of youth. Now that your college has shifted to the University enclave, far removed from the buzz and din of city life, I am sure you will be able to show still better results and utilize to the maximum advantage the academic atmosphere that breathes in a University enclave.

*Speech at the Delhi University on the occasion of the opening of the new building of the Hansraj College, 3rd October, 1954.

I happened to see one of your earlier reports in which your Principal had complained about desertions from the staff. It is not unnatural that one should try to improve one's prospects and be on the look-out for better openings. In case of schools and colleges, where members of the staff are paid modest salaries, the temptation of going over to other callings is still greater. The only remedy that occurs to me is the development of a sense of values among the teachers. Although we cannot be so unrealistic as to altogether ignore or even depreciate the importance of material prosperity in life (and steps should be taken to improve the teachers' position in this respect), yet I dare say there are values which transcend monetary considerations.

It has been suggested that among the causes of lack of respect for teachers in many of our students, one is the absence of opportunities of contact between the teacher and the taught, which in its turn is due to the large number of students that a teacher has under him. The idea of having a University campus or enclave was conceived, I believe, primarily to provide greater opportunities of mutual contact between the students and their teachers. It is a pity that at present out of over four thousand students attending University classes in Delhi, only 750 reside on the premises. I know there are difficulties for all the students to live in the University campus. In the first place, there is no hostel accommodation available for all of them. Secondly, all the students may not afford to live in hostels, even if accommodation were made available. With all this, there is no doubt that many more would reside on the premises if accommodation were available. We have to realize that unless a solution is found of this knotty problem, merely the existence of a University campus is not going to do much good to the student community. In this connection, Dr. Mahajani's proposals making it more economical and cheaper for day scholars to attend University classes deserve consideration.

Another cause is the lack of enthusiasm or love for his noble profession in the teacher which, in turn, is due to his unsatis-

factory pecuniary and economic condition compared to other professions and the general tendency to judge a man's position in society according to the bank balance which he can show. Nevertheless, I think that a college or a University is the right place where these values should be conceived, where they should take shape and where youngmen and women should imbibe them.

In this respect we have a rich heritage from our past on which we could draw. Selfless pursuit of knowledge, which included not only learning for oneself but also imparting knowledge to others, was considered one of the highest ideals in ancient India. In our literature of olden days, we come across innumerable intellectual luminaries who pursued knowledge for its own sake and who lived a life of complete dedication to it. It is my prayer that those noble and lofty ideals inspire our youngmen to the same life of dedication, so that education spreads throughout the length and breadth of the country and knowledge receives from this ancient nation of ours the homage it deserves.

Once again I thank you for asking me to come here and open your new building in the University enclave. Let me hope the disadvantages with which you have had to contend these few years because of paucity of space, will now be removed. I wish your college to progress more and more.

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*MERITS OF BASIC EDUCATION.

My interest in Basic Education, called *Nai Talim*, goes back to the day when Mahatma Gandhi convened a Conference at Wardha for discussing this subject. A few prominent educationists and workers in the cause of national education had also been invited to attend this Conference. I have been in touch with the progress of this system of education ever since. I am, therefore, happy to have got this opportunity to come here and speak to you what I feel about this problem, although I know I might be repeating the views expressed by me earlier. It is also likely that the views which I express are not in consonance with those of others, particularly of educationists. Besides, it is also to be seen how far my views fit in with the policy which is being pursued by the Central and State Governments in this connection and how far it is practicable to modify that policy. Therefore, I hope what I am going to say will be taken as my personal opinion and that you will discuss it as such with an open mind without fear or favour.

It will be agreed that the system of education, right from the first primary class to the highest university course, which we are following today, is the same as introduced by the British Government in this country. We have not been able to introduce any fundamental change in that system even after the attainment of Independence. It is pointles to blame anyone for it, because the peaceful manner in which the transfer of power took place made it inevitable that along with the governmental machinery and other things, the system of education should also come to us as a heritage of the old régime.

It is now our duty to give thought to each one of these problems and decide in the light of the present-day conditions how far it is necessary to modify them, and then to act upon what we have decided. There is no doubt that in introducing

*Speech at the All-India Basic Education Conference, Sanosra (Saurashtra), November 13, 1954.

this system of education, the principal motive of the British Government was to secure as much advantage as possible for establishing itself in this country. Apart from this, the Britishers also thought that as compared to their own culture and literature there was nothing much in Indian culture and literature which might be said to be worth preserving. There is no doubt in course of time their views underwent some change, but it was not fundamental. The progress of Science in Europe meanwhile confirmed them in their view that scientific education could be imparted only through the medium of English. Consequently, partly for the sake of administrative convenience and partly to propagate their own language and culture they stuck to their own system of education which they introduced in this country. There is no doubt that the education received by our earlier generations was based on this very system. Those people knew little of Indian literature or culture and hardly felt drawn towards it, although a few Indian scholars who were inspired by English education did study Indian literature and wrote a good deal in praise of it.

Thus we find two schools of thought in this country. The followers of one school believe that our own language alone can be the medium of education and until that is done, education is bound to remain confined to a small section of society and will never spread among the masses. The other school of thought thinks that in this scientific age our country cannot cut itself adrift from European thought and that at least higher education should continue to be imparted through the medium of English. If that is not done, they argue, we shall fail to pull our weight and lag behind other nations in the race for material progress. These views, as a matter of fact, apply not only to the medium of instruction but actually to the whole system of education.

Our people have responded more and more to the call of education during the last 50 years, and this is evident from the phenomenal increase in the number of educational institutions.

In 1911-12, when Burma and Pakistan were also parts of India, there were 186 Universities and Colleges in India, as compared with 537 in 1948-49 though Burma and Pakistan had separated, leaving India smaller in area and population. The number of secondary schools in 1911-12 was 6,370 whereas the corresponding figure for 1948-49 was 14,342. Again, while in 1911-12 the total number of students studying for Intermediate, B.A. and B.Sc. was 31,947, while the number of M.A. and M.Sc. students alone in 1948-49 went up to 2,14,677, out of whom 23,058 were girls. As many as 62,495 students graduated from Indian Universities in 1951-52. In the years which followed, I think, this number has gone up still higher.

It is clear from these figures that there is a wide-spread demand for educational facilities. This demand is no longer confined to towns alone, but is evident among people of the rural areas also,. One result of this spread of education has been that many educated people find themselves unemployed. Government jobs and service in private undertakings offer limited openings for the educated. Only a small fraction of successful scholars can be absorbed in them. A large majority of the educated are averse to taking up their parental occupations. As a result of their education, they have lost the capacity to take up those occupations and they are not equipped to follow any other either. The only result of this process has been increasing unemployment and subsequent discontent, indifference and a pessimistic attitude towards life among a large section of the educated people. This is a dangerous trend for the country. Let us, therefore, discuss today how far the present system of education, which is spreading at such a speed, on which we are spending so much and which is turning out a large number of "educated" boys and girls, is useful and capable of meeting the challenge of present-day conditions.

Mahatma Gandhi, who had anticipated all this, thought that this system of education which is so expensive would not do, if education was to be brought within the reach of every

Indian, rich and poor. He, therefore, thought of a new system of education which has come to be known as Basic Education and which Indian and foreign educational experts have declared to be highly useful. According to Gandhiji, as far as I understood him, there are two basic merits in this new system. Firstly, education under this system is imparted not merely through books but through some kind of practical work so that the knowledge which children acquire will not be the result of mere memorising but of actual experience. He thought, and some of the leading educationists were at one with him, that knowledge acquired in this way created a degree of consciousness, efficiency and a feeling of self-reliance, all of which would come handy to one when starting life. The other merit in this system, according to Gandhiji, is that it brings education for all within the pale of practical possibility, because the handicrafts on which children would be working would bring some return in terms of money, which would go, at least in part, to meet the expenses of their education. He was convinced that unless young scholars made this contribution towards their own education, universal education in India would never be possible.

The result of all the discussions and experimentations in the field of education during the last 16 or 17 years is, in my opinion, the same that we arrived at in our discussions in the first Conference held at Wardha. Educationists had admitted the utility of the new system but considered children's contribution towards their education as not only impossible but undesirable. Our experience, on the other hand, has demonstrated both the utility as well as the practicality of the system. My remarks are essentially with reference to primary and secondary education. Little has been done so far to apply this system to higher education. It is not, therefore, possible to say anything about it on the basis of experience.

In spite of all that has been done in this field so far, it is a pity that this system has not received the encouragement which it deserved and which we could have given it after achieving

Independence. As far as I can say, the reason is that although the utility of the new system has been proved, our faith in the old system of education remains unshaken. That is also why most of those who are engaged in the work of education have not given much thought to the new system. All that we can say is that even today the new system has not gone beyond the experimental stage. Our Government has not decided to popularise it as a part of its constructive programme, let alone doing anything practical for it. I know that in the various conferences we have had so far, resolutions have been adopted in favour of it and Government agreed that the new system should be adopted, but actually it has not been done. Consequently educational institutions of the old type are daily increasing and whatever budgetary provision Government makes under the head "Education", is spent mainly on keeping the old system of education intact. Naturally, the new system has received little encouragement. My own view is that unless fundamental changes are made in the current system, the sad state of affairs that we see today will become sadder. The feeling of discontent among the educated and their utter dissatisfaction with life will continue to grow. I would, therefore, urge that all those concerned with the education of children—our educationists, universities and the governing bodies of colleges and schools, education ministers, etc., should give not only theoretical consideration to this problem, but do something practical to change the present system of education. Unless this is done the problem would be come more and more complicated.

I am very happy that the Talimi Sangh has been carrying on its work undeterred by difficulties. I cannot say that its activities have influenced educational trends in the country to any considerable extent, but I must admit that whatever is being done by it is of great value for the country. Its usefulness would be realised when, sooner or later, compelled by circumstances, we shall have to introduce fundamental changes in the system obtaining today. At that time the experience acquired by workers of the Talimi Sangh will come handy. As I said earlier,

our experiment in the sphere of primary and secondary education has been successful and we can confidently recommend the new system to our countrymen at these two stages. We cannot say the same in respect of higher education in view of the inadequacy of our experience. Therefore, I attach great importance to your work. I hope the unfavourable atmosphere will not detract your workers and they would continue to do their job.

I remember sometime in 1924 Shri C. Rajagopalachari said in his convocation address to the Bihar Vidyapith that such national educational institutions were like flickering lamps, reminding us of the days when the non-co-operation movement was at its height. I admit that the schools run by the Talimi Sangh are no better than flickering lamps, but I insist they are of great importance, not because they are a reminder of the good old days but because I think even one flickering lamp has the capacity to light thousands of lamps to carry the blessing of light to a thousand dingy corners. Therefore, I insist on keeping these flickering lamps burning. I look to them with hope, waiting for the day when their quivering flame will get steady and shine, illuminating the whole country, giving it new life and new inspiration.

Mahatma Gandhi did not put all his beliefs at one place in book form, but undoubtedly there was a sort of universality which characterised them. Education had a top place in his thoughts, since it is through education that ignorance and backwardness in India and the world can be removed. My appeal to you, therefore, is that you should continue your efforts in spite of all the handicaps and discouragements and wait for the day when the practical superiority of this system will be recognised and it will be accepted and established throughout the country.

With these words I thank you all for giving me an opportunity to speak of the basic things about our system of education.



Conferring LL.D. (Honoris Causa) on Shri K. M. Panikkar

*PUBLIC LIBRARIES AND THEIR IMPORTANCE.

I welcome the opportunity of visiting Baroda and saying a few words by way of complimenting it on its cultural and educational activities and what I might call its library traditions. I have no hesitation in endorsing the Chancellor's remark that Baroda has a proud record in this field of activity. I remember, during the British régime when the percentage of literacy in the whole of India worked at something like ten or less, Baroda had the distinction of being much in advance of it. Along with another South Indian State, its percentage of literacy touched forty. It was no small achievement and it reflected a great credit on the educational policy of the former Baroda State's administration. I am, therefore, not at all surprised to know about the magnificent work done by your library organisation. This organisation had the distinction of keeping the remotest part of the State supplied with books free of charge. What occurs to me as the most striking of its features is the fact that it has always had special libraries set up for women and children at every district headquarter.

Spreading literacy is no doubt important, but of equal, if not greater, importance is to keep up literacy and not to allow it to lapse into illiteracy. It is a fact that a large number of people in our country who attend primary schools and then give up their education, lapse into illiteracy soon after leaving schools. That is not so much due to their pre-occupation at home or in the fields as due to the complete absence of links between their school-days and the post-schooling period. Books of interest, of the requisite standard, alone can furnish a link between the two periods. If a continuous supply of books for ex-pupils can be maintained, the small foundation built during the early school-days will not only not be in jeopardy of being

*Speech on the occasion of laying the corner-stone of the University Library in Baroda, November 16, 1954.

washed away, but can serve as a good enough basis for literary pursuits. For the same reason, whenever the problem of illiteracy in the country has been thought of, the question of supply of readable books to non-school going adults has come to the fore. Educationists are at one that, after the opening of the required number of schools to accommodate all the children of school-going age, continuous supply of books is the next most difficult problem they have to confront. The administration of the former Baroda State deserves to be congratulated on having solved this problem so satisfactorily by setting up a net-work of libraries throughout the State.

It is in the fitness of things that a place having so distinguished a record in the field of public libraries, should aspire to have a University library befitting its reputation. If the Baroda University has not so far been able to have the right type of library, I take it it is because the Baroda University itself is of recent growth. The library was started only four years ago. In this connection your plans, rather than the library as it is today, are a correct guide to your aspirations. I agree that a commodious building where scholars could sit and book-shelves could be properly displayed, is the first requisite for a library. A library is not merely a place where books are stocked and from where scholars might borrow books. If that were so, it would hardly be different from a big bookshop. A library should be a place of inspiration, a place where books are so arranged as to help scholars in their choice and selection of books. In this sense, therefore, a library is a fount of knowledge where aspirants go to replenish their store of learning. I am happy that, judging from your plans for the proposed library, all these things have been kept in view. I have no doubt that your request for monetary help will receive the consideration which it deserves at the hands of the Bombay Government and the Union Ministry of Education.

Before laying the corner-stone, I must, make a reference to the late Maharaja Sayajirao, whose name this library would

bear. It was he who had laid the foundations of Baroda's educational policy and who built up its cultural traditions. The net-work of libraries that we see all over Baroda State are a monument to the sagacity and love for learning of this great ruler and administrator. I am sure the scholars who would be frequenting this library will try to imbibe something of his zeal for learning and his spirit of liberality. May this library, and the University of which it is an important adjunct, keep burning for ever the torch of learning and literacy with which Baroda's name has long been associated, is my prayer.

I am thankful to the Chancellor of the Baroda University for having invited me to lay the corner-stone of this library. On this occasion I offer my best wishes to you all.

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*A GREAT CENTRE OF ORIENTAL LEARNING.

I am very happy to be present today in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, which is one of those Indian centres of learning which have acquired international fame and attracted scholars from quite a few foreign lands. During the last 46 years or so, this Institute has done much not only to keep the torch of oriental scholarship burning but also to raise the status of India in the world of research and learning. In the eyes of many in this country and, I dare say outside India, this Institute has during the last four decades stood for systematic and valuable research in a field which had more or less remained unexplored till the late Ramakrishna Bhandarkar, the great pioneer of scientific Orientology, took it in hand. Your Institute is a fitting memorial to the learning and pioneering work of that great scholar.

The trail which Ramakrishna Bhandarkar blazed and which many illustrious scholars who followed him kept illumined, has been responsible for reviving a tradition centuries old but long forgotten. Since the very dawn of history in our country, Sanskrit has been the principal medium in which the Indian genius found expression. To have revived popular interest in that language and to have systematized its study in accordance with present-day needs, is a task of historic importance. I am glad to observe that the Bhandarkar Institute has played the most prominent part in accomplishing this task.

The scholars of this Institute are known to be proceeding about their work so scientifically that every activity of the Institute, particularly its many publications, have come to be looked upon as the last word in thoroughness. Whether it is the study of

*Speech on the occasion of his visit to the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona, 19th December, 1954.

old manuscripts or annotation of a highly abstruse work of literature or the dry and taxing work of lexicography, the Bhandarkar Institute has never failed to bring to bear its fastidious standards of efficiency and thoroughness on it.

By virtue of its outstanding work in the field of oriental learning, soon after its foundation, this Institute attracted orientalists from Indian universities and other educational institutions for inspiration in that branch of learning and it served as a model for the oriental institutes started in other parts of India. There is little wonder that Sanskrit scholars and orientalists all over the land have not only looked to it for help, guidance and recognition, but also come to regard Poona, where it is situated, as a great centre of oriental learning. There can be no doubt that your Institute has richly deserved all these tributes from far and near.

I might refer, in passing, to one of your most valuable publications, the Critical Edition of the Mahabharata, the great Indian Epic, which has perhaps inspired a larger number of poets, play-wrights and writers than any other single book we know of. By bringing out this valuable publication the Bhandarkar Institute has done a great national service and opened up new avenues for free India's future writers and thinkers.

I am sorry, though I am not surprised, to know that financial stringency has often given you cause for concern and prevented you from extending the work of research and publication to the extent you envisaged. It is indeed painful that an institute like yours which is doing a work of outstanding importance, should feel compelled to curtail its activities because of inadequate funds. Let me hope, however, these difficulties, not altogether unknown to academic institutions, will not cow down your spirits, as happily they have not done so far. In the changed political atmosphere in our country, I am sure, your Institute will receive greater recognition both at the hands of the public and the Government, which should mean greater

appreciation of the work you are doing and more liberal help to you in carrying it out.

I thank you all for having invited me here and for having presented to me the volumes of the Mahabharata, which I greatly value.

*A MAN OF VERSATILE ACHIEVEMENTS.

May I offer my felicitations to you on this happy occasion when it has been my privilege to confer this Degree on you? As everybody knows, if Dr. Panikkar had taken to the line of teaching, he would have adorned some professorial chair either in this University or in some other university. If he had stuck to journalism, he would have adorned the editorial chair of some well-known journal in this country and outside too. On the other hand, if he had taken to authorship as he began early in life, I have no doubt that his contribution to literature, not only in his own language but in other languages and particularly English, would have been equally great. But Mr. Panikkar took to administration and diplomacy and he has earned laurels in those fields which ordinarily would appear strange to one devoted to letters or to teaching. His versatility is beyond all doubt. His shop is not a grocer's shop where you can get everything but much of nothing. It is one of those big stores where you can get much of everything! The University has honoured itself by conferring the Degree on such a distinguished scholar.

It is really a matter of regret for us, who are residents of the North that we are so very ignorant of the languages of the South that we really do not know much about their literature except what we can gather from translations in English and now also in some of the North Indian languages. But there is no doubt that the part which the South has played in the cultural evolution of India is at least as great, if not greater, as that of the North, because it is in the South that the ancient culture of India could be seen at work even today while it has ceased to function in many other parts of our country. So far as Sanskrit is concerned, everyone familiar with that language

*President's speech made while conferring honorary degree of Doctor of Laws on Sri K. M. Panikkar at a special convocation of DELHI University, 22nd August, 1952.

knows that the contribution of the South has been very great. One South Indian friend recently told me that while Avataras were all born in the North, the Acharyas came from the South. That is true. What is more important is that the Avataras are messengers but the Acharyas were real men of letters and learning who by their writings have left behind something which still guides the people. Let me hope that tradition will continue to be recognised by North India.

I hope the award of Doctorate to Dr. Panikkar is only the first of a series to follow not only in this University but in other Universities also. I congratulate you once more on the honour that has been conferred on you.

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ART, LITERATURE AND CULTURE

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***ART—AN EXPRESSION OF EMOTIONAL LIFE.**

YOUR EXCELLENCIES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

I am very grateful to you for inviting me to this evening's function and asking me to declare your new building and this exhibition open. I am happy to see that your Society has been making rapid progress. Now that you have a building of your own, I hope you will be able to widen the scope of your activities and render still greater service to art and its lovers.

As your President, Sir Usha Nath Sen has said in his speech, art has undoubtedly changed its course along with other dynamic forces and human concepts. It is, in my opinion, as it should be. Since the Victorian age the shape of things has been rapidly changing almost in every sphere of life. Art, which if divested from life will wither, can be no exception to it. In fact, being an expression of our emotional life, art is particularly bound with human existence. It is closely connected with the way in which human beings live and think, the way in which their feelings and emotions seek expression. In India we are looking forward to a great and inspiring development in the realm of fine arts as in all other respects, and work of the kind you have been engaged in is at once a fore-runner and supporter of such big development in human history.

I am glad that the exhibition which I have the privilege of inaugurating today is the greatest art festival of its kind held in Asia. You have managed to exhibit a rare collection of works of art representing all the five Continents and many countries. I am at one with your President that Delhi deserves the honour your Society is doing it. Delhi is a place known for its hoary past, its antiquities and its historical monuments. It has known several royal builders and nurtured many a school of painting, architecture and other kindred arts. The grand scale on which

*Inaugural speech at the Fine Arts and Crafts Society, New Delhi, February, 1953.

you have been able to organize this exhibition and the generous help which your Society has been getting from official and non-official sources from time to time, are proof that even today when there are no Kings and no royal patronage, Delhi continues to be popular with artists and fertile in art.

The list of the activities of your Society given in brief in your President's speech is indeed imposing. I would like to express my appreciation of your valuable work, particularly in the field of international good-will and understanding. Universal in appeal and conception as all art is, it has great potentialities of bringing various nations closer to one another. Your efforts in popularising art through Travelling Art Exhibitions and group shows for creating art consciousness among the people are equally commendable.

It is indeed gratifying that the All-India Arts and Crafts Society's ambition to have a permanent home in NEW DELHI has been realized in spite of the all-round financial stringency we so much hear of today. The idea of having an international gallery of Art is in perfect consonance with your ideal of international understanding and with your past efforts to have, for art, a forum which cuts across all divisions, national and geographical. I wish your Society all success.

I have great pleasure in declaring this exhibition and building open.



Inaugurating Tamil Festival New Delhi

*SOUTH CAN ENRICH NATIONAL LANGUAGE.

I must begin with a confession and an apology. The confession is that I am completely and utterly ignorant of Tamil and the apology is that I have not been able to learn it. That apology is made not only on my own behalf, but on behalf of all Northerners in this country. We have been thinking of having a common language or rather a language which will be used for our national purposes. We are expecting and hoping that our brothers and sisters in the South will learn that language. Unfortunately I have not noticed any similar movement in the North for acquainting ourselves with the language or languages of the South. I only hope that the people in the North will soon realise the great loss which they are sustaining on account of their not being acquainted with the literature that is enshrined in the languages of the South.

I have sometimes heard it said that there is an attempt to impose Hindi on the South. I can give you the assurance that there is no such attempt on the part of anybody. What we want is that you should, out of your own free will and out of a realisation of its necessity for the nation as a whole, adopt this language for our national purposes. There is no intention in any way on the part of anybody to suppress any other language of India. On the other hand, we wish them all prosperity; we wish that they should grow and enrich the culture of the country as a whole; and I have no doubt that as in the past, one language will bind us all together. In the past there were difficulties of travel and communication, but in modern times when we have got so many new facilities for propagation, it should not prove at all difficult for the Northerner to learn one of the Southern languages or for the Southerner to learn a northern language;

*President's inaugural speech at the Tamil Festival, New Delhi, 29th August, 1953.

and if it is taken in that spirit, I have no doubt that the South will soon find it easy to beat the North. I say this from experience, because I have seen some of the Southerners, who have been devoting some time to learn Hindi, speaking it with fluency and grammatical correctness; speaking it with not only fluency and correctness, but also with the accent with which, I must confess, I cannot speak the language myself (laughter). I have, therefore, no doubt that in course of time, if you only gave your attention to it, you will be able not only to compete with the North but even to go ahead of them.

I have also heard that another kind of language which will be also called national Hindi will be developed which will be different from the common Hindi. I do not know if any such attempt will be made. We know that the attempt to have an esperanto in Eurpoe has not proved successful and I am not at all sure that an Indian edition of the esperanto will be any more successful. I would, therefore, suggest that there is no reason to think that a new language will be developed. We all hope that everyone of you coming from the South, everyone of you speaking languages other than Hindi, will learn that language and make a contribution to that language. The Hindi of the future will be a language which is not the Hindi of the Northerner only, but it will be Hindi which has been fostered and nurtured by all Indians to whichever part of India they may belong. We want the Hindi language to be enriched by your own vocabulary, your own phraseology and your own idioms, and while the structure of the language cannot be changed, there is no doubt that the Hindi language can greatly be enriched by contact with other languages and by contribution from other languages, and that is what I am hoping for.

When the invitation was kindly extended to me to inaugurate this Festival, I thought I could not do better than come to you and beg of you to look at this question from the national point of view, and just as in the past the South made a tremendous contribution to the Sanskrit literature, so also in the future I

have no doubt you will be making your contribution to the enrichment of our national language and to make this country greater.

With these words I have pleasure in inaugurating this function.

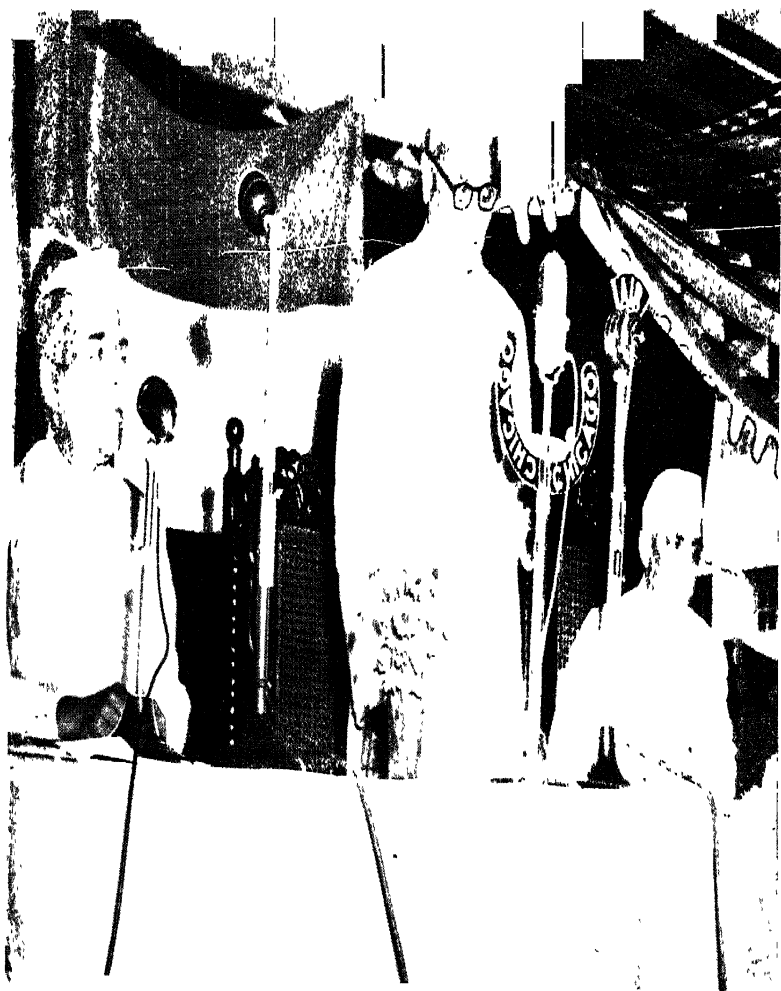
*KANNADA CULTURAL FESTIVAL.

I am thankful to the organizers of the Kannada Cultural Festival for their invitation asking me to inaugurate it, and welcome the opportunity of adding to my knowledge of the cultural heritage of the people of Karnataka. On the basis of what I know of its contribution in the realms of literature and art, I should gladly endorse all that Shri S. V. Krishnamurthi Rao has said about it. You could legitimately feel proud of the part that Karnataka has played in building up what is known as Indian culture. As emphasized by him, Indian culture is undoubtedly one; but it is a composite culture, a collective concept, for the making of which every part of India has made its contribution according to its own peculiar genius.

I would like to say something about the principal characteristic of Indian culture, though it might seem to be a digression. This characteristic is the essential harmony of Indian culture, harmony which is not superficial, but which has gone deep enough to be evidenced in every texture of its fabric. Anyone who goes round and visits various parts of the country will be struck by the unity which pervades all the apparent forms of diversity. It provides a harmonizing influence sufficiently tangible to make Indian culture distinctive. It is, therefore, not surprising if someone from the North discovers unmistakable bonds of unity in the art of the South or a man from the South is struck by the community of design or motif between the temples of the South and those of the North.

The spirit of unity has manifested itself particularly in the sphere of fine arts like music, dancing, architecture, etc. About the last one, Sisir Kumar Mitra has said: "If architecture is the matrix of all arts and crafts, it is more so in India whose temples and cave-cathedrals with all the decorative beauty

*Speech delivered on the occasion of the inauguration of the Kannada Cultural Festival, New Delhi, 15th April 1954.



President inaugurating Kannada Cultural Festival New Delhi

of their sculpture and painting are the very embodiment of the integral vision of art that came to the builders of ancient India. Evolved out of spiritual conceptions, they have stood through the ages as the principal visible and material record of the cultural evolution of the race, as the symbol of the unity of its godward aspirations."

Your language, Kannada, which is recognized as one of the regional languages of India is indeed one of the oldest in the country. Spread over a period of about 2,000 years, it has a rich literature. The Kannadigas have also made valuable contributions to Sanskrit literature.

The South in general and Karnataka in particular may well feel proud of the fact that the great Indian renaissance in the eleventh and twelfth centuries emanated from that part of the country. This renaissance which, in course of time, transformed itself into the Bhakti movement is one of the most significant events of Indian history of the middle ages. Madhvacharya who was born in Karnataka and Ramanujacharya who sought shelter there, were the two spearheads of that movement. One of the foremost result of this renaissance, which had its ramifications throughout the North, was a great religious upsurge which sought expression through devotional poetry. Hindi, which had been in a formative stage for some centuries received a great fillip on account of this upsurge. Even today the literature of the Bhakti era is the most valuable treasure of Hindi literature. In a way, therefore, we could say that in creating the conditions which enriched Hindi literature, South India played a great part. Bengali and Marathi, as they are spoken today, also benefited immensely from this renaissance. It was but inevitable that a spirit of unison and harmony should run through the art and literature of the various regions and their respective languages.

I am glad that the Kannada language, which suffered a temporary set-back for historical and geographical reasons in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, has once again come

into its own. You have now two Universities and a number of well-established educational institutions in the region of which Kannada is the language. Kannada has a strong Press and a well developed literature, rich in fiction, poetry and drama. I am happy to observe that in our struggle for freedom Kannada writers played a prominent part.

I need hardly assure you that your sense of pride and your achievements are widely appreciated outside Karnataka. The whole country has learnt to respect and appreciate the Karnataka style of music. Even in parts where Kannada is not understood, people listen to and enjoy this music.

I congratulate the organizers of this function on their decision to celebrate a Kannada Cultural Festival. Functions like this, apart from giving a high type of entertainment, are of great national importance. They provide an opportunity to speakers of other languages to come closer to regional literature and art. I particularly welcome the idea of holding such festivals, portraying the cultural activities of the South, in Delhi. I hope functions of this kind are organised in other parts of the country also. I believe that every State or region has something to give to others. Such festivals should be the right medium for give and take in the cultural sphere.

I have great pleasure in inaugurating this Cultural Festival.



President inaugurating Punjabi Cultural Mela at New Delhi

*PUNJABI LITERATURE AND CULTURE.

I am glad that the Punjabi-speaking citizens of the capital thought of holding this function. Lately we have had such cultural and literary festivals here of the people of other linguistic groups. The number of those who speak Punjabi is probably not less than that of any other single language group in Delhi. It would indeed have looked odd if the Punjabi population of this town had not thought of organising a Punjabi Mela. When I was told about it by Shri Gurmukh Singh Musafir and other friends, I gladly accepted their invitation to inaugurate it.

India is a country where many languages are spoken. Quite a few of them are rich and well developed. They have their own literature and their own literary traditions. On account of this variety in language and customs we often call India a country consisting of several cultural groups. All these regional cultures and their respective traditions form the basis on which the edifice of Indian culture stands. It does not mean that Indian culture has no distinctive individuality of its own and is merely a conglomeration of regional cultures. The fact is that as a result of centuries of mutual contacts and the process of constant give and take, a composite culture had long evolved with its own peculiar characteristics and beauties. Though, as before, the thought, customs and traditions of various regions are an integral part of Indian culture, yet the latter may be said to be above each one of them because of its distinctive individuality.

I know some people do not look upon the multiplicity of languages as an unmixed blessing. It is likely that in the past multi-lingualism may have encouraged centrifugal tendencies. It is also possible that this factor may have been looked upon as a challenge to the country's solidarity and unity. But all that has changed now. I would like that we review the situation in

*Speech delivered on the occasion of the inauguration of Punjabi Cultural Mela at New Delhi, 6th November, 1954.

the changed circumstances. Luckily we have gone far ahead in this respect and the concepts of political independence and national unity have come to acquire a different meaning. The foundation on which Indian unity and solidarity rest today is so strong that the very forces which might have threatened it in the past are today capable of forging new links to strengthen it. All the units, big and small, of the Indian Union now enjoy complete cultural and linguistic freedom and we look upon the progress of every regional language and culture as an asset to Indian culture. In my opinion, this freedom, given to the various units of the Indian Republic by our Constitution, is not only the guarantee but also the touchstone of our success.

I would like to say a few words about the Punjabi language. Like other Indo-Aryan languages, Punjabi also started taking shape in the Middle Ages; and, again, like other sister Indian languages its sapling was also nurtured by the *vani* of great saints and religious leaders. This language has its own peculiarities and its own grandeur. Though modern Punjabi literature has developed mainly during the last one hundred years, a few Punjabi epics, which are a valuable treasure because of their literary excellence, were written some centuries ago. The poetic tradition as evidenced in these epics and Punjab's folk-songs is fairly old in Punjabi. I think it is our duty to keep this tradition alive and to improve upon it as far as it is possible.

For this reason I welcome the idea of convening such cultural festivals, because they help in keeping that cultural heritage alive. I am sure this Mela will be a source of entertainment not only to the Punjabi-speaking people of the capital but also to others. Apart from recreation, such festivals have also great educative value. In a place like Delhi which has a cosmopolitan population, such festivals provide an excellent opportunity of imbibing the spirit of co-operation and mutual give and take. I wish success to this festival of yours and hope that occasions like this will soon become a feature of our city and country life.

*MALAYALAM ART FESTIVAL.

It gives me great pleasure to be present here today to inaugurate the Malayalam Art Festival and to witness it. I have had occasion to witness similar festivals organised by other cultural groups and to say a few words about the importance of such gatherings and their bearing on the cultural life of the country as a whole and on Indian unity.

When I received the invitation to inaugurate this function from kind friends of Kerala, I could not help wondering how the thread of unity, woven in centuries, if not millenia, by mutual contact and community of interest, thought and outlook, had strung together into a beautiful pattern the diverse regional cultures of this ancient land. This diversity portraying the peculiar characteristics and traditions of different regions has given Indian unity a remarkably subtle and kaleidoscopic effect. The whole panorama of Indian culture is dominated by the rich diversity provided by different regions, and yet the concept of Indian culture is so unmistakably clear and unique that as a whole it can never be equated with the culture of any single region nor the latter mistaken for what is known as Indian culture.

If we give some thought to this question we cannot escape the conclusion that vast and variegated though our country is, in course of time certain ideas have permeated the whole length and breadth of our land so well that long distances and differences of climate, language and customs appear to have counted almost for nothing. The myths and legends of snow-clad Himalayan regions in the North are made of the same stuff as the legends of far off Kerala in the South. To a large extent, I believe, it is the two great Indian Epics, the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* which provided common links in the realm of

*Speech on the occasion of the inauguration of the Malayalam Art Festival, 9th December, 1954.

thought, literature and social customs of the various regions. It cannot be said to be purely accidental that literary activity in nearly all the Indian languages, particularly the languages of the North, East and the West, which were then in a formative stage, began with local translations of the two epics or parts thereof. Even in the case of the Dravidian languages the classical tradition began only with the popularisation of the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana* through local media. It is a significant fact that in all our languages the first fruits of literary effort were either translations of these epics or independent works based on the themes of the epics. That being so, it is not at all surprising that there is a thread of unity visible to any discerning eye, binding in one pattern the literatures and arts of the various regions.

Kerala, as one of those linguistic and cultural regions, has its own customs and traditions of art and literature. I understand that its language, Malayalam, has a rich literature in which the various parts like novel, drama, poetry, etc., are well developed. One of the greatest cultural assets of Kerala, I am told, is its dance drama which is based on stories from the epics and which has acquired great popularity on account of its liveliness, its artistic appeal and the picturesque costumes of the actors and actresses. As for the *Kathakali* dance which has made Kerala famous in the world of art, nothing much need be said. By all connoisseurs of art *Kathakali* is acknowledged as one of the finest expositions of Indian dancing. Similarly, the people of Kerala have distinguished themselves in the field of music, painting, architecture and other fine arts.

I welcome the idea of holding such cultural festivals representing far flung regions in Delhi, which apart from being a cosmopolitan town is, in a sense, the heart of the North. It is not only desirable but also essential that the people in this part of the country should know as much as possible about the art and cultural traditions of our southern-most State. I only wish Northerners also held their art festivals in the South, if only to



President inaugurating the Malayalam Art Festival New Delhi

complete the process of give and take. I have no doubt that those who witness this festival will find much of interest in it.

I wish the Malayalam Art Festival all success and hope it will stimulate the interest of the non-Malayalees in the art and culture of Kerala and also provide an opportunity to Malayalees to enrich their literature further.

With these words, I inaugurate this Festival with pleasure.

*CHILDREN'S ART EXHIBITION.

I am very happy once again to be here to inaugurate the International Children's Art Exhibition, which has now become an annual feature of the Capital's life. Associated as I have been with this memorable venture ever since its inception, I feel that there cannot be many institutions here or elsewhere which could show a record of such steady progress and popular enthusiasm as this exhibition. Yet, when one sees that behind this venture is the genius of one of the foremost cartoonists and humorists of our times, one can understand the great popularity that this exhibition has gained. Shri Shankar Pillai, who has sponsored this exhibition and whose efforts have made it an international event, is himself an artist of no mean repute.

Even at the risk of repetition I would like to say that this Exhibition of Children's Art is truly international in character as is evident from the long list of countries whose children have sent their specimens of art to be exhibited here. It is indeed a happy augury that so many countries have responded to the organisers' invitation. It is a tribute, I take it, as much to the interest of those countries in the advancement of art as to the efforts of the organisers.

Art is an antidote to an attitude of exclusiveness and selfishness. That is why it is said that all the higher arts are essentially chaste and have a liberalising influence on men. They purify the thoughts as tragedy purifies the passions. It can thus be well imagined of what great value art can be to us today. In the domains of science and material prosperity, the modern man has made stupendous progress, but to reap the fruit of this advance of ideas and multiplication of resources, he must needs have the human touch springing from a truly catholic mind.

And this the cultivation of art alone can impart. Without some such balancing force, I am afraid scientific advance will ever

*Inaugural speech, New Delhi, 27th November, 1954.



President opening Children's Art Exhibition New Delhi

remain a mixed blessing and a thing of dubious value for us. Therefore, I think that never before was the harmonising influence of art more necessary for the world than today.

When we think of art in relation to children, its value is doubly enhanced. It provides an excellent outlet for their growing talents and the exuberance of energy in them. The educative, aesthetic, sublimating and ennobling influences of art strike a straight and spontaneous responsive chord in the hearts of children. Your effort in popularising art among children will thus have a far-reaching effect on the coming generation. Let us hope that it will help in creating a generation which will be greater, happier and nobler than the one in which we are living. Let us devoutly wish that our goal of having amity and harmony among nations of the world will be brought nearer realisation as a result of such activities. which this International Exhibition of Children's Art is doing so much to promote.

I wish the sponsors of this Exhibition the best of luck and hope that as years pass it will grow into an institution of international importance, at least for the children of the world.

I have great pleasure in inaugurating this Exhibition.

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*FUNCTION OF THE CINEMA.

Reproduction and multiplication of books and other things is one of the characteristics of modern age. If someone wrote a book in ancient times, the writer could have only one copy of the hand-written manuscript. If more copies were required, the whole thing had to be re-written in hand by a scribe, which was an expensive and an arduous job. Today, on the other hand, if we want reproductions of a book or a given event, we have at our disposal not only the printing press but a few other scientific devices. Multiplication of things in the present age appears to be a mere child's play. In earlier days if a good drama was staged and it happened to gain popularity, only those could benefit from it who were physically present when that play was staged. That is because the actors could not manage to be at more than one place at a time. Even if a play was re-staged, no one could guarantee that it would be rendered with the same skill and have the same effect on the audience as the original play staged earlier.

All that has changed today. Now we can have a play staged simultaneously at several places. We can have it cinematographed and in this way also reproduce the original voice of every actor. This is what is generally known as a film.

Cinema is a very powerful medium of projecting ideas. It can create excellent effect on the audience if it has wellgroomed actors, nice dialogues and conveys a good moral. But it is equally potential in its destructive powers if the characters are immoral so that their life, as portrayed in films, tends to degrade rather than raise society.

The capacity of the drama to do good or evil is limited in the sense that it can influence only those who see it enacted at one place at a time. But the capacity of the film is unlimited

*Speech on the occasion of the presentation of Awards for the best Feature and Documentary films, October 10, 1954.

because of its reproductions and the large number of people who can see it any number of times at any number of places. It is, therefore, very necessary to be cautious in the production and use of films in order to ensure that they are utilized for the good of society.

Broadly speaking, cinema may be said to have three main objectives, namely, education, recreation and propaganda. All of these objectives are of utmost importance in our everyday life. Cinema can play a great part in the spread of education, provided it is really educative and makes the right approach to pupils. While I am talking of education, I have not only child education in mind but also the education of the grown-ups. Education does not mean only literacy. It is much more than that. After all, books can give only a part of the knowledge which it is desirable for man to acquire. Far more than books, it is the experience, the contacts and the environments which go to constitute an individual's knowledge. Cinema can be a great help in acquiring knowledge from all these different sources, because it can extend to incredible limits the field of our visual and auditory experience. It is a truism that things which we see with our own eyes influence us far more than things which we hear from others' mouths. Things which we see on the screen may not be leaving as lasting an impression on us as things which we see in our actual life, but, nevertheless, scenes of the screen are more effective than descriptions read in print or heard through ears.

As for recreation, it is also of many kinds. There is recreation which besides being entertaining is also educative. There can also be something which is recreative but morally injurious. I cannot claim to have seen many films. Actually, I have not had many occasions to see them. But I am told by many a friend that quite a number of our films belong to the latter category, and that far from being a genuine source of recreation or education, they only stimulate sensuousness. Such films have a particularly bad effect on younger minds.

May be that such films are more popular than others. It is also possible that such films may be more paying. It might be said by some that films are produced on a commercial basis and, therefore, the producers have to make only what is in demand. It might also be said that the principal function of the cinema is to provide entertainment, in which case producers have to be guided by popular taste.

All these moot points might be adduced for the sake of argument. But I would like to point out to those connected with our cinema industry that if they want to do real service to the public—and I do believe it should be their ideal—all these arguments should be of little consequence for them. At any rate, these are secondary considerations. The primary consideration must be service of the people. No service can be real unless it safeguards the genuine interests of those who are sought to be served. I would, therefore, request film producers to ponder over this and ask themselves as to what their real aim is. The aim, as I said, has to be service of the people, which is not incompatible with commercial success. But commercial success without service is hardly worth anything.

When one is guided by selfish motives, one may try to do somethings which is in one's own interest even if it is contrary to the interest of society. The society has to call such a person to account. The object of all the penal codes prevalent in different countries is to keep in check the tendency of the individual to gain at the expense of society. I feel our film producers should also evolve a similar code in the interest of society and the quality of their own production. I admit that in an ideal society there will be no need to have a penal code. By ideal society I mean a society in which every individual is so disciplined as to have full control over himself so that he does not require any extraneous pressure or fear to make him pursue the path of righteousness. So far, we do not know of a society of this description. That explains the need of a penal code in every country. Nevertheless, it goes without saying that



Presenting awards to best Indian Films

the more reformed and wide-awake a society is, the less is its need for a penal code.

Sponsoring of films and their actual production, I take it, are jobs which can be undertaken only by enlightened and conscientious people. It will not be too much to hope that rising above purely personal gains they would always keep in view the good of society as a whole. If it is not so, I shall request film producers to keep this high ideal before them. Until such time as this ideal is achieved, I am afraid it would be necessary for Government, as the guardian of society, to exercise some kind of control over the production of films. Freedom is undoubtedly a great blessing, but it has its own discipline and its own limitations. Unless that discipline is voluntarily adhered to by all, freedom itself would be in peril.

I am glad to say that good many of our films are doing real national and constructive service, particularly those films called documentaries which are produced with the object of diffusing useful information and general knowledge. Some people might think that documentaries have not much entertainment value, but it cannot be doubted that they are highly educative. I should think that through the different media of recreation and entertainment it is possible to modify or improve popular tastes. I hope film producers will also agree with this view. We know of so many sports and games which make for physical fitness but which also inculcate the virtues of co-operation and mutual dependence. There can also be games which exhibit cruelty and ferocity and instead of bringing these vices into hatred tend to make virtues of them. Similarly, I think the cinema instead of laying emphasis on sensuousness can portray and preach lofty ideals. I wish our film producers to serve the public and also get their legitimate profit; at the same time they should stick tenaciously to high social ideals.

The Government has given the desired encouragement to this art by deciding to offer awards to best films. In adjudging

the quality and standard of films, the things I have referred to ought to be kept in mind. Our film producers should popularize an ideology which should make observance of these high ideals a matter of duty so that morality and social decorum might also come to mean popularity and commercial success. I know that all official controls and restrictions are irksome in their very nature, and those on whom they are imposed naturally start looking for devices for circumventing them. But if a restrictive measure has the sanction of public opinion behind it, the producers will themselves look upon malpractices as undesirable and strive to avoid them. This altogether obviates the necessity of controls. If any controls are imposed in such circumstances, they remain merely a dead letter and have seldom to be invoked.

I fervently hope that our film industry, which represents a growing and progressive art, will keep these things in view and that the producers will do all that is possible to remove the very basis of the complaints sometimes heard against films.

I congratulate all the recipients of today's awards. Let there be healthy rivalry and competition among all of you for producing films which render real service to the people and which bring them nearer to our cherished ideals.

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ON SANCTITY OF LAW

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President addressing the International Legal Conference New Delhi

*MORAL SANCTIONS BEHIND LAW.

Let me thank you for the unique honour you have done me in asking me to inaugurate this Conference which, I understand, is the first of its kind to be held in India. It is only in the fitness of things that the Conference should have been organised under the auspices of the Indian Branch of the International Law Association—an Association founded in 1872 and justly renowned for its great contributions in the field of International Law. I am aware of my limitations and I am, therefore, approaching my task with a degree of trepidation. In spite of what the Chief Justice of India has been good enough to say about my being a lawyer, if I were to lay claim to such a status myself, I apprehend that Judges could be easily persuaded to hold that any such claim was barred on account of non-use for a prolonged period of more than 30 years, if not by the statute of Limitation or the Common law, at least by the law of commonsense.

Those who have gathered here are persons of great experience and acquainted with different aspects of the problems coming up for consideration, some because they have had practical and administrative experience of them, others because of their abiding interest in the advancement and reform of the law; others again, because they have made a profound study of the particular branches of the law. All are enthusiasts, and it ought to be one of the aims of a Conference of this kind to cause that enthusiasm to be communicated to others.

A glance at the imposing array of subjects on the agenda of your Conference is sufficient to show that without a deep study and vast research into the fascinating realms of International Law, it is not possible to say anything useful about the subjects which you will discuss in this Conference. I confess with

*Inaugural address at the International Legal Conference, New Delhi, 28th December, 1953.

humility that I have not hitherto been able to devote such time or thought to the important subjects that I could say anything which is new to this distinguished assembly of lawyers from so many countries to whom it is our good fortune to extend our warm welcome today.

I may, however, be permitted to say a few words on certain fundamental aspects of the questions which interest not only this Conference, but humanity at large, at the present moment. We find in the world today different ideologies, different ideals and different methods of attaining them. States are getting divided into blocs, each with its own ideology and programme of work. In spite of the existence and activity of the United Nations Organisation which has been established by the willing consent of the nations of the world, "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, and to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human being, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom", tension between nations who are members of this organisation has not ceased. And, while attempts have been made, and are being constantly made, to settle disputes by mediation and conciliation, we are not in a position to say that we are free from fear or that we enjoy any of the other freedoms which the organisation is intended to secure for all. It is true that the General Assembly of the United Nations has made a universal declaration of Human Rights, but it is not yet possible to say with certainty that these fundamental rights are available to all, or are ensured in practical application to all.

One sometimes wonders how the nations of the world are going to keep one another in order, unless there is a super-State which controls each State, big or small, just as an individual's life and activity are controlled by the State of which he

is a citizen. Even in a State which may be regarded as a well-governed democratic State, relation between the individual and the State is not always clear. In fact, one of the points of difference between the conflicting ideologies arises out of the concept of this relationship between the State and its individual citizens. Law, as it is understood, is the creation of a State and governs the relationship between individual citizens of that State and between the State and its citizens. The underlying sanction behind such law is the might and authority of the State to have the law obeyed and enforced. In this concept of law there is always desiderated as a *sine qua non* an external authority with the power and the means to enforce it. In other words, law is what is created by the State and has to be obeyed by everyone who enjoys the benefits derivable from its citizenship. There is, as a matter of theoretical essentiality, no necessity for the law to be anything more than the will of the State for the time being, expressed through its appropriate organ; and it is in fact irrespective of any moral or ethical value. That many laws have such ethical and moral foundation does not in any way detract from the soundness of the proposition that moral or ethical correctness is not an essential characteristic of law. So long as there is sanction to enforce it, as is the case in all well-organised States, so far as its own citizens are concerned, the law may be enforced whether it is morally and ethically good or bad. This does not imply that existing laws which are enforced by the State are without any moral value. As a matter of fact most people obey the law not because of the coercive apparatus of the State but because they have developed a sense which has made such obedience a habit, if not a second nature with them. Even more than that, laws are obeyed because they are morally good and valid. But I am concerned here with the sanction of the State which may be used even when the law has not that moral quality.

When you come to consider international relations, where there is no such external sanction available which can enforce what may be called international law against the citizens of a

State, you will see that there can be no law in the strict sense of the term to regulate such relations. As Jeremy Bentham put it, International Law may be indebted to all or any of the "forces by which the human will is influenced". Thus, it is in the sphere of international relations that moral and ethical values furnish to some extent the sanction for law, at any rate, so far as States which have regard for such moral and ethical values are concerned. It may, therefore, be said that laws on the international plane have a higher moral and ethical value than on a national plane, and as such they have an importance all their own.

How to invest law with the ethical and moral efficiency which will give it its own binding force, is the question which can very well be considered by those who are not burdened with the responsibilities of the governance of a State and who are in themselves capable of assessing the true value of laws. An Association which in itself is a non-official organisation has, therefore, a utility and grandeur of its own, which cannot be equalled by any official organisation. You have the unique privilege and responsibility of guiding the nations individually, and also the International Organisation of the United Nations, by free, frank and fearless discussion of the principles which should govern the relationship between one State and another on the one hand, and the individual and the State on the other. There are no limits to your jurisdiction. I envy the ampler atmosphere in which you function.

I note with pleasure that the activities of this Conference are not confined exclusively to matters connected with International Law. I see that the Agenda includes one item of special interest to me, namely, "Some features of the Indian Constitution", and another of considerable importance to municipal law generally, namely, "Organisation of Courts and the Legal Profession". How I wish that you had taken up for discussion one other subject of no less importance, namely, the organisation and functioning of the legislature. These last two

subjects are of special significance at the present day, because of the wide-spreading activities of the modern welfare State. And, though the two subjects are closely related to one another, yet the functions themselves of judge and legislator are mutually exclusive. For, there is only one condition on which a man can do justice between two litigants, and that is that he shall have no interest in common with either of them, whereas it is only by having every interest in common with both of them, that he can govern them well. The indispensable preliminary to democracy is the representation of every interest; the indispensable preliminary to justice is the elimination of every interest.

The law-making body is an entrancing subject of study; and I hope you will permit me to dilate upon it a little. It is generally supposed that people understand their own interests better than others and, therefore, persons elected by their will represent their interests and will make laws and run the administration so as to serve them best. In the modern age, indeed in any age, it cannot be denied there are conflicts of interest between individuals, and if not the administration which has to deal with the day-to-day problems which arise, at least the legislatures who lay down the laws should be able to see beyond the present-day conflicts the ultimate good of the people at large and should be able also to reconcile these conflicts so that all may feel happy and contented. A real difficulty arises in regard to the concept of happiness itself, some treating it as no more than the satisfaction of material needs, present or future, others looking beyond the material requirements to something which they consider to be higher and nobler in man's life.

It is generally regarded, and I think rightly, that the rule of law should prevail in all societies which claim to be civilised. It is all the more necessary, therefore, that the law should be such as to command obedience not because of the State's coercive force behind it but also because it has moral value. That which proceeds from the voice of the people is not necessarily the better

thing because the voice of the people is not always the voice of God. Something has, therefore, to be done to ensure the quality of the men who frame the laws so that the quality of the laws themselves may be assured. What is true in the case of a State and its law is true also, perhaps to a greater degree, of the law of nations which has no sanction except that of the intrinsic value which the law has. International law has, however, this advantage over the law of any State, namely, that it has been evolved by jurists and adopted by States. It is not a body of legislative enactments which have been enforced, and are enforced, by the sanction of the State. It is accepted by nations on its own merits and, as such, has a great deal of moral authority behind it. Some of the interpretations and proposals of the International Law Association have been adopted by the United Nations, and let me hope that, as time advances, more and more weight will be attached to proposals made by persons who have no personal or national interest in view but evolve their principles on their own intrinsic merits.

This is all the more urgently needed in the present state of human society when the clash of national interests drives States to war. The shape which war is now taking is more and more one of total annihilation of the adversary and nearly total annihilation also of the victor. It has, therefore, become necessary to adopt measures which may prevent conflicts which lead to war.

Conflicts arise, in their ultimate analysis, out of material causes and ideological differences. If they have to be avoided, if not eliminated, we have to probe into certain fundamentals. The emphasis at the present time is on material prosperity. There is no limit to the height which what is called the "standard of living" can reach, and in the very nature of things the conflict between the haves and have-nots is being intensified on account of the emphasis that is universally laid on the fulfilment of the material needs on which the standard of living depends. So long as man continues to seek happiness more and more in the

fulfilment of his desires, and not in satisfaction born out of contentment with what he has, the conflict is bound to continue. It means that the entire structure of modern society, if not of modern thought, has to be reconstructed. It does not mean ignoring the satisfaction of material needs. It means only the placing of greater emphasis on what is now wholly neglected, namely, satisfaction born out of contentment, which is entirely independent of the satisfaction of material needs. These material needs are so insistent and so self-evident that they do not call for any psychological emphasis, whereas contentment is very largely the result of mental discipline and needs psychological emphasis so that it may be able to hold its own in its encounter with man's physical needs.

It is evident that when no limit is put to the physical needs of man, the conflict can never be resolved. To take a very crude but effective illustration: there was a time when man was satisfied with the speed which his legs could give him. In course of time he felt that he should have greater speed, and today we have reached a stage when, if reports are correct, he can travel at two and a half times the speed at which sound travels, that is, 1,600 miles an hour. I do not know if the ultimate limit has been reached even yet. This craze for speed is only symbolic of man's desire to surmount and surpass the limitations put on his physical capacity; and it serves to indicate that in other respects also he cannot put any limit to what he considers necessary for him.

The question now arises whether mankind as a whole is happier with all this enormous and at one time unimaginable extension of his power to fulfil those needs. One might be excused if one be inclined to think that in this age with all the power which physical science has placed in his hands, he is less free from fear. The most powerful nations of today are living in constant fear of their rivals; and tremendous activity is being put forth to allay this fear by surpassing and suppressing the rival in respect of all equipments which are considered essential,

and this is being done not for self-preservation but for annihilating the opponent.

This fear, no less than this insatiable desire to have material requirements fulfilled, is responsible in another way for controlling human liberties in diverse ways. As an association of lawyers you can see how State legislation is spreading its tentacles to regulate the activities of citizens. Under one system it seeks to regulate all activities of the individual on the assumption that the State knows best what is in the best interest of the nation as a whole and also of the individuals composing it; in other words, the annihilation of the individual's personality is in his own best interests and the best interests of the nation, which is only a combination of individuals. Even in those countries where this ideology is not accepted or recognised and where great value is said to be attached to the personality of man, it cannot be denied that man-made law is trying to cover larger and still larger spheres of man's activity. This arises because, taking all in all, the emphasis in those countries too is more on the satisfaction of material needs than on contentment; and that is so even when they profess and believe that the personality of man has to be respected and given full opportunity to develop. They inevitably are driven to the position of controlling the individual's activities because they are essentially motivated by a desire for fulfilment of physical needs. This also explains the emphasis on the representation of the interests of individuals and groups by their chosen representatives in the legislature, which is given the right to frame laws. When there is no limit, theoretically speaking at any rate, to these needs, it is only a matter of expediency and not of principle that a law which may be framed has any value apart from its capacity to help in the fulfilment of those needs. The same principle explains, and in fact necessitates, the emphasis that is laid on rights rather than on duties. Rights always imply what one has to take from or enforce against others. Duties, on the other hand, express what one owes or has to give to others. We may not expect any fundamental

change unless the whole outlook is changed; and a beginning towards that change can be made by shifting the emphasis from one form of satisfaction to another, as I have suggested above.

The value of qualifications which a legislator should possess becomes all the more obvious in the present context. There was a time when law was supposed to be not made by man at all, but to have been given to mankind either by God himself or by prophets and seers or Rishis. Secular law was not very different, or at any rate, fundamentally different from what may be called religious or moral law. All ancient laws will perhaps be found to agree in this, that they made man's happiness dependent more upon himself than upon anything outside himself, more on his own mental and spiritual satisfaction than on the satisfaction of his physical needs and requirements. Once we are able to begin to look more in the direction of this inner satisfaction than of the fulfilment of physical cravings, the way will be opened for a solution of conflicts. Ideological differences too are based on differences of outlook on this basic question of internal fulfilment and satisfaction by external devices. Therein we see the emergence of non-violence which aims at fulfilment without external coercion in any form.

It has been well said that war is born in the minds of men and so should peace be born there. The objective of the UNESCO has been very beautifully laid down in a few words: "Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defence of peace must be constructed". That can be achieved only if there is a change in the make-up of the mind of man. An Indian philosopher, Dr. Bhagwan Das, who is happily still with us, has described the qualifications of the law-giver in the following words. I believe he is guided in his description by what were treated in the days of old as the essential qualifications of one who laid down laws: "Persons elected to it (legislature) should be of mature experience, wide knowledge, disinterested philanthropy, widely honoured and

trusted by the people because of their lives of proven worth. Arithmetical devices like those of proportional representation, single transferable vote, reserved seats for special interests and votes secured by or for candidates of unknown ethical quality, by means of whirlwind campaigns of electioneering tricks cannot and do not cure ethico-psychical diseases of egoistic selfishness and defective character; and the presence of serious ethical defects in legislators is fatal to the wisdom and beneficence of the laws enacted. The legislator must be above all prejudices of race, creed, cast colour or sex. In other words, only good and wise legislators can make good and wise laws; therefore only such persons as have been proven good and wise by their lives, should be elected to the legislature. Goodness means predominant altruism; wisdom means philanthropy *plus* knowledge, especially of human nature in all its aspects, of its requirements and of the best ways of satisfying them righteously”.

If legislators have to be representative men, then these very qualities must, at any rate to some extent, be found amongst their constituents whom they represent, and therefore it is that this emphasis, as suggested, has to be shifted and a change in our outlook has to come about. As a step in that direction coercion in any form by one individual on another or by one group or nation on another group or nation has to be ruled out and non-violence made the basis of relationship. It was one of the characteristics of Indian saints and seers to say in a few words the fundamental thing that is needed; and our philosophy is contained in simple *sutras* or aphorisms. It was left to some others to reason out in logical form the philosophy underlying these aphorisms. Others, again, wove them out into simple fables and stories which would be intelligible and acceptable to simple, unlearned and unsophisticated people. It was in the line of succession of these seers of India that Mahatma Gandhi summed up his philosophy in two words “*Satya and Ahimsa*” (Truth and Non-violence).

You, members of the International Law Association are, I believe, not hampered by any limitation of being either an official body or the representatives of any particular group of individuals or nations; and you can, if you so choose, bring to bear upon your deliberations complete freedom of thought and expression and can shift the emphasis for which I have pleaded and help in re-orientating the outlook of humanity and saving it from the impending ruination to which it is being led.

In according you a cordial welcome, wishing your deliberations every success and urging on you the adoption of breadth of vision and freedom from all narrowing notions, I can only hope that I have not been led to say anything which is inappropriate for an occasion like this, and I ask to be excused if I have allowed myself to be betrayed into any impropriety.

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*IMPORTANCE OF THE JUDICIARY.

It gives me great pleasure to participate in this afternoon's function of laying the foundation-stone of the building which will house the Supreme Court of India. The Supreme Court came into existence under our Constitution on January 26, 1950. But like many other institutions it had its predecessor in existence, the Federal Court of India, which was established in 1937. Ever since their establishment, the Federal Court and latterly the Supreme Court have been holding their sittings within the premises of Parliament House. As is well known, the Parliament House was designed originally for the purpose, and it still serves the purpose, of housing the Supreme Legislature of the Country. It was only on account of the exigencies of time that accommodation had to be provided for the highest Tribunal in the land within those premises. The inconvenience and the insufficiency of such accommodation have long been felt, and it also found expression from time to time. It is a matter of gratification that we can now look forward to a date when the Supreme Court will have a habitat of its own where it can transact its business with comfort and dignity and also enable all those who have business with the Court to perform their functions with equal ease. I am hoping that the structure which is going to arise on the foundation which is being laid today will be worthy of the great institution it is going to accommodate. I trust there is ample provision for additions and alterations later as need arises. Unless there is such provision, I am afraid it will be difficult to keep pace with time and we may find it more difficult to add to or alter the building than to amend the Constitution!

As is well known, our Constitution is a federal Constitution. It was prepared at a time when we had the advantage of similar and other constitutions, written and unwritten, of various countries of the world before us. An attempt was therefore naturally

*Speech made on the occasion of laying the foundation stone of the new building of the Supreme Court of India, New Delhi, 29th October, 1954.



President laying the foundation stone of the Supreme Court Building
New Delhi

made to incorporate in it what was considered best and most suitable for our people. With the vast variety in many matters of vital importance that we have in the country at large, a Federation was an absolute necessity, which could not be avoided even if anyone desired to avoid it. We, therefore, necessarily have delimitation and demarcation of jurisdiction between State and State and the Central Authority. Legislatures, both Central and State, are supreme in some respects, but have limited or no jurisdiction in certain other respects and naturally it occasionally becomes a matter of dispute as to whether a particular matter falls within the exclusive jurisdiction of the Central or State Legislature, or falls within the concurrent jurisdiction of both. The Constitution lays down what it calls the fundamental rights which define the rights of individuals which may not be ordinarily encroached upon by the Legislature, whether Central or State. There are certain directions embodied in the Constitution which, though not justiciable, are still looked upon as laying down the policies to be aimed at by the State. We have also a large volume of litigation as between one individual citizen and another or between a citizen and a State. All these are matters in which, in some form or another, resort to courts for interpretation of the law or for safeguarding the rights, becomes necessary. The Supreme Court being at the apex of a system of courts of various grades spread all over the country, has naturally to serve not only the entire population and all the States and the Republic, but also has a very wide jurisdiction in respect of all justiciable matters which may be brought before it. In matters constitutional, it has of course the original jurisdiction of deciding constitutional disputes. It has been made the guardian of the fundamental rights under the Constitution. It serves as a Court of Appeal against decisions of High Courts and has other supervisory jurisdiction over all manner of judicial matters.

Its responsibilities therefore are immense and the country naturally looks up to it to uphold the Constitution and the rights of individuals and States, and to do right by all manner of people without fear or favour, affection or ill-will. Its task has been

made not less difficult by the fact that our laws, customs and usages have, during the last 150 years or so, drawn very largely upon the jurisprudence of western countries, particularly England. Our legislation during that period has been modelled very largely on English law and the interpretation put upon many of these Acts has been influenced not a little by considerations and principles which were essentially applicable to English conditions but were adopted in this country as being based on rules of natural justice and fair-play. Our Courts, particularly the High Courts and especially the Supreme Court, still function in an atmosphere of British precedents, although in many matters light has to be sought from other sources, as for example, from the United States judgments relating to matters which do not ordinarily arise in England on account of the supreme sovereignty of Parliament but which do arise in America and some of the Dominions on account of the federal nature of their constitutions. That the Courts in British India were able to establish a tradition of independence of the executive, of justice and fair-play not only as between individuals and individuals but also between individuals and the State during the British period of administration, speaks volumes in favour of the high tradition of the British judicial system and those associated with the administration of law there. In framing our Constitution, we have deliberately attempted to give to our Courts complete independence so that not only may justice be done, but also that everyone may feel that justice has been done as those administering it are independent and honest people who have discharged their duty without fear or favour or affection or ill-will. That is the great safeguard our Constitution provides against disruptive elements. Let me hope that the Supreme Court will continue to function in an atmosphere of supreme independence and administer justice to all.

Within the few years of their existence the Supreme Court as also the High Courts have had to deal with constitutional questions of great importance, in which validity of laws passed by legislatures has been questioned, executive action of Governments

challenged and protection of rights of individuals as against the State sought. As must be expected, that part of the Constitution dealing with fundamental rights has come up for discussion on numerous occasions and the courts have not hesitated to give their decisions against the Government. There may have been occasions when some of such decisions have caused inconvenience or have even been instrumental in holding up matters considered as of supreme importance by the Government. But it must be said to the credit of all concerned that all such decisions have been accepted and given effect to. The Supreme Court has got no agency of its own to enforce its decisions which have to depend upon the State and Central Governments for execution. It is a matter of congratulation that all such decisions, even where they have gone against their own wishes and policies, have been given fullest effect by all the parties concerned. That establishes the supremacy of the law and I am sure I am not exaggerating the effect of this when I say that we could not have hoped for a stronger or better proof of the stability of our Constitution.

While the fundamental rights have defined the rights of individuals on the one hand, they have also declared that all laws inconsistent with these fundamental rights are void. On the other hand a right to sue and be sued has been reserved in certain matters and one curious case has come to my notice to which it is worthwhile drawing attention. Under the English Rule of Common Law, the King can do no wrong and so a tortious act committed by a servant of the Crown in the discharge of his duties, gives no cause of action to the sufferer. This has been adopted and regarded as a part of the law in India for about 100 years or so, and although in England where the doctrine originated, the Crown Proceedings Act, 1947, has abrogated it, it has been held in this country to be still applicable because of certain provisions in our Constitution relating to suits and proceedings whereby rights to sue or to be sued are preserved to or against the Union of India or the Government of any State. In this particular case a man driving in his own motor car suffered

collision with a truck of the Defence Department of the Government of India. He was under some arrangement able to get compensation for damage to his car but when he claimed damages in a Court of Law for injury to his person, the suit was held to be barred by the rule that the State could not be sued for the tortious act of its employee, the truck driver, and it was dismissed on a preliminary objection and the Court could not get an opportunity to pronounce on the merits of the case as to whether the driver was to blame or not. The question has not come up, as far as I know, before the Supreme Court, but it raises a fundamental issue as to whether even after the New Constitution has come into force, we are bound hand and foot by rules of foreign law whose applicability was not quite clear even before on account of their artificiality.

My own feeling is that in all such matters, while precedents may be of great value in deciding disputed points, courts cannot afford to ignore the demands of natural justice and have to go behind them if so required.

Another matter which I think deserves consideration both from the executive and the judiciary is that each should be careful and cautious not to give any room for suspicion that it is in any way encroaching upon the jurisdiction of the other. The division of functions of the State does not, and ought not to mean any conflict between the various organs. They are all the organs of one entity, the State, and each has its own functions to perform which it should be free to perform and in the performance of which there should be no interference by any other. While, therefore, we may accept as a maxim of great validity the power of the courts to interpret the law so as to serve the purposes of the State, it should never be treated as a justification for creating new laws by courts under the guise of interpreting existing laws. On the other hand, there should be no attempt on the part of the executive or the legislature to usurp the function of the court. The legislature, representing as it does the sovereign will of the people, has to

interpret that will in suitable form by enacting legislation. In a progressive society, the popular view is also constantly changing and so what the legislature considers just and reasonable today may be considered unjust and unreasonable in the future. The laws have therefore to undergo changes and such changes can be brought about only by the legislature. But once the law has been so enacted, it should be the duty of the court to see to it that it is enforced and naturally it follows that it has to interpret the law as it stands in order to enforce it. There is a tendency, however, which is not altogether invisible, to lay down provisions in Acts ousting the jurisdiction of courts to interpret the law and leaving it to the executive to determine the meaning of the law so enacted. While this may be necessary in certain circumstances, particularly on account of the complexity of procedure resulting in law's delays, it should not ordinarily, and except in rare cases, be resorted to as a means of avoiding inconvenience to the executive arising out of their anxiety to see things proceed quickly and at the same time not being able to scrutinize the laws promoted by them with the care necessary for eliminating all such risks and inconveniences.

I have no doubt in my mind that the fundamentals of our Constitution are sound and the way in which various organs have functioned, gives hope of its stability. I have confidence not only in the ability and the integrity of the judges who adorn the High Courts and the Supreme Court, I have also confidence in the judgment of our people who, I am sure, will take a commonsense view of all problems facing them and enable their representatives to deal with them in the best way possible. There is, and there should be, no conflict and I am sure I am expressing the considered will and opinion of the country as a whole that the Supreme Court will continue to be the buttress which supports our freedom and the foundation of the structure which I have laid today is only symbolic of the foundation for justice and fair-play which are embosomed in the hearts of our people.

**AMELIORATING THE
BACKWARD PEOPLE**

***HELPING SCHEDULED TRIBES TO PROGRESS.**

I am very happy that you, who have been devoted to the cause of the tribal people in your different ways and have by now acquired familiarity with the problems which confront the tribal people and those who seek to serve them, have gathered in this Conference to give a concerted thought to this great problem and to devise a co-ordinated plan of service of the tribal people. The Constitution of India laid a mandatory duty on the Government of the land to give its special attention to this problem. To discharge this mandatory obligation the Government appointed a special officer to look after this work. You all know Shri Lakshmidas Shri Kant. The cause of the tribal people is and has been his life's mission. But the problem is so complicated and intricate that it needs the co-operation of many minds and so it is that you are meeting here today to make your valuable contribution to its fuller understanding and to the devising of effective ways for its early solution.

We have in India a large population known as the Scheduled Tribes of nearly 2 crores. They are spread over the whole country, but their population is concentrated very largely in the States of Bihar, Bombay, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, West Bengal, Madhya Bharat, Madras and Rajasthan. There are many problems relating to them which need handling in a sympathetic and imaginative way. They differ from the other population of the country in many respects, for example they have different languages, different customs and different modes of living, and generally speaking they can easily be distinguished from the others on account of these differences. But even amongst themselves, they differ very considerably from one another. Their languages differ, so also do many of their customs. It

*Inaugural address to Conference on Scheduled Tribes, New Delhi, 7th June, 1952.

becomes difficult to handle their problems on account of this variety and these differences that are found amongst them. In many parts of the country they have been occupying hilly jungle tracts, and are thus not easily accessible, which has been one of the reasons for their remaining more or less cut off from the rest of the community. They have not unnaturally remained behind others in education, and generally speaking their economic condition also is poor. In some places they have taken to agriculture, but in many places, they are not settled agriculturists and whatever of agriculture they have is of a very primitive nature. They have old cottage industries like spinning and weaving and many of the tribes weave many artistic designs and live in very clean and artistically constructed houses. They are simple, but for that reason not any the less artistic. Except in parts which are infested with malaria, they maintain good health because of their simple and open life. But generally speaking, they do not have any of the modern amenities of life. Christian missionaries from various countries of the world have worked amongst them and at great sacrifice have spread education and generally helped in effecting improvement in their living conditions. They have also been able to convert to Christianity a considerable number from amongst them. There has been another unknown and perhaps unperceived movement going on for their assimilation with the adjoining population, and especially in the parts where they reside the fringe area is inhabited by people, many of whom must have at some stage or other formed part of the tribal population there. But they have become so assimilated with, and absorbed in the society of the locality that they are no longer distinguishable from others and are easily distinguishable from the tribals. My own belief is that there has been a considerable intermixture of blood between the tribal people and other Indians and he would be a bold man who would say that there has been no admixture of tribal blood, say for example, amongst many of the so-called higher castes of the Hindus in Bihar. Because of their

backwardness in education, there have not been people wanting who have not scrupled to exploit them for their own purposes. The problem therefore which has to be tackled on a large scale is to create facilities which will enable the tribal people to come in line with others in the matter of education and economic development.

The question arises—what is the kind of advancement and progress that we advocate for them? Will it be regarded as a progressive step if they become assimilated with the rest of the society, or is it desirable to provide facilities for their economic and other development in their own line, maintaining their own customs, mode of living and culture? Whatever the line that may be adopted, one thing should be accepted and adhered to in all circumstances. There can be, and should be, no idea or intention of forcing anything on them either by way of religion, language or even mode of living and customs. Even where we feel that the religion or the life that is offered is better than theirs there is no justification for forcing it upon them against their will. My own idea is that facilities for education and for general improvement in their economic life should be provided for them and it should be left to them to choose whether they would like to be assimilated with, and absorbed by the surrounding society, or would like to maintain their own separate tribal existence. In India with its variety of life, there is enough room for tribal people to carry on their separate social existence if they so desire. If they find, however, that from their own point of view it would be better for them to get assimilated, they will do it without any large-scale effort on the part of others. In other words, personally I am for service to them uninfluenced by any consideration of winning them over for particular groups, religious or other. It is only in that way that we can win their confidence, and even for raising their standard of living and improving them educationally, it is necessary to win their confidence first.

Under the Constitution we have got to take special care of them, and funds have to be provided to help them. As I have

said, the problem will differ not only from State to State, but also from area to area or region to region within the same State, and different solutions will have to be found in different places. It is therefore not possible to lay down any one programme which will be acceptable and desirable for all except in general terms and I would like to lay down that programme in general terms according to my own opinion, which has been formed after some study of the problem and some association with the work that is being done amongst them.

(1) The first and the foremost thing which has to be done is to encourage the spread of education from the lowest to the highest standard. The difficulty that will have to be encountered would be with regard to text books and the language in which they should be written. Personally I think that in the lowest classes the only language that can be used is the mother-tongue of the child. If there are no books available, they should be prepared. If there is no script, some prevalent script should be accepted. Personally I should think that like other children, tribal children also will have to acquaint themselves with two scripts—one will be the script of the language which is prevalent round about them, and the other will be the Hindi script which, according to the Constitution, is going to be the script of India. It will perhaps be desirable to introduce the Hindi script for all tribal languages because in any case the tribal people also have to learn Hindi at some stage or other for all-India purposes, and in the absence of any script of their own it is much better that their languages should adopt the script which will be the most prevalent script and which as a matter of fact is even today the most prevalent script in the country. I also think that the basic form of education will suit them very well and wherever any educational programme has to be initiated, it is much better to start with that programme of basic education. To enable the poorer section amongst them to take advantage of these educational institutions, they should be given not only free education and books, etc., free but hostel accommodation, and scholarships

should be given to them on as extensive a scale as the finances can permit because there is a great leeway to make up.

(2) For improving their economic condition I think efforts should be made to settle them on land. In some places they have taken to settled agriculture. This should be encouraged, and it should be made difficult, if not impossible, for others to cheat them of their land on which they are settled and which they are cultivating. I know that in some places transfer of land is prohibited or restricted. That should ordinarily be the law, of course taking care that by too rigid restriction they may not lose their sense of proprietary right in the land. They are very fond of their forest life and they also derive many advantages from forests. While the protection and the preservation of forests as a national asset is necessary, care should be taken not to deprive them of facilities which they have been enjoying and which are of help to them. There are many tribes which have not taken to settled agriculture and take recourse to shifting cultivation. Efforts should be made to settle them on land and shifting cultivation should be discouraged. For this, not only propaganda but demonstration will be required so that they may see that on the whole settled agriculture is more profitable. Necessary help, financial and otherwise, should be given to induce them to take to settled life.

(3) Government should take steps to give them employment in the public services for which suitable candidates with minimum qualifications may be available.

(4) Their artistic taste and natural capacity should be availed of by the State by encouraging them to take to occupations which suit them. With training and encouragement, there is no reason why they should remain behind others in any occupation, and in the educational curricula provision should be made for giving them necessary occupational training. Those who go in for higher education will naturally take to occupations and professions suitable for that class of people and encouragement should be given to them in those lines.

(5) They have their own tribal organisations for dealing with social and other matters. These may be encouraged to come in line with panchayats which are being started and fostered by the States. As their population is in a way concentrated in particular localities, these panchayats will very largely be exclusively manned by them and it is likely that they will run them according to their own notions subject to the law. I think that that should be encouraged.

(6) Above all, efforts should be made to make them feel that they are an important and integral part of the nation and they have to play their part in it as any other community or group in the country.

The Conference is going to consider various aspects of the broad problem, with particular reference, I understand, to the question as to how the grant which the Government is making can be best utilised. I have indicated some of the items on which what Government is in a position to spend can be usefully employed, and I would leave it to the members of the Conference to consider various aspects and give their own indications as to how best they can be served.

*INDIVIDUALITY OF TRIBAL PEOPLE.

FRIENDS,

I need hardly tell you how happy I feel in being in your midst this evening. I have been looking forward to this visit of mine for more than a year. I was to have visited this beautiful part of the country sometime last year about this time. Partly on account of ill-health at that time and partly on account of several preoccupations during the latter period, I was not able to fulfil this wish of mine until today. My pleasure is all the greater because I have had to meet some difficulties even on this occasion. At the last moment some obstacle came in the way and I am glad we were able to overcome it.

My desire to come here was due very largely to the fact that I was anxious to meet you and know your condition at first hand. This area like some other areas in this Province was sealed to us and we were not permitted to come here. I know that even in 1947 when the Constituent Assembly was meeting in Delhi and I had appointed a Committee with the late Chief Minister of this State—Shri Gopinath Bardoloi—as its Chairman, the Committee was not allowed to enter some parts of this Province. Therefore I made up my mind then that as soon as it was possible, I should pay a visit to these parts and see some of the places which were banned against us. I am, therefore, happy that I have been at last able to fulfil that wish and pledge of mine. Although the Constituent Assembly could not send its Sub-Committee to these parts, it was not negligent of your interests. It was for this reason that the Constitution-makers took special care to make provisions for the governance of these parts which are inhabited by the Tribal people. Our anxiety was to see that you make progress as quickly as possible.

I am not one of those who look upon the Tribal people as backward. I know you have your own customs, your own

*Reply to address of Welcome presented at Tura (Garo Hills, Assam), 18th February, 1954.

culture, your own way of life. We are anxious that you should progress and do so in your own special way. India is a vast country. We have got any number of religions, any number of systems of life, any number of customs prevailing in this vast land. It is this variegated picture of India that we have in our view. Just as in a beautiful structure, you have got any number of stones and bricks collected and pieced together, here in India we have got so many kinds of people all living together. Each brick has its own individuality but all the bricks put together constitute the building. We want the beauty of the building to be found in the India of our dreams. That can be done only if the structure as a whole is maintained and preserved. At the same time it is equally necessary that each brick should also be preserved in its entirety. Therefore, we want all the variegated people inhabiting this vast country to feel as one.

It is after a long time that we have become independent and attained complete freedom. We are now free to build our house in our own way just as we like. I want you to realize that each one of you is now the ruler not only of one corner of India but of India as a whole. I have been elected President of the country as a whole. Anyone of you can be elected like me to the high position. There is no bar, there is no restriction. You have to win it by your own service of the country, by your love of the country and I am hoping that the day is not far when the so-called backward people will come to occupy the highest positions in the country. I would, therefore, earnestly request you to consider what great achievement has been made by our attaining independence.

I have heard with great interest what you have said about your requirements and needs. I am not surprised. I would have been surprised if you had not told me of that. It is a happy sign that you have begun to feel that you know something and you have got somebody to whom you can make that demand. I was somewhat surprised when I was told, while

coming to this place this morning, that no Head of the State had ever visited these parts before. Well, whatever might have happened in the past, you must rest assured that your interest will be the interest of the country as a whole. It is realized that the greatest need of this part of the country at the present moment is improvement in communications and means of transport. As a result of the Partition, Assam as a Province was cut off from the rest of the country as the railway line which linked it with the rest of India passed through Pakistan. The Government of India, therefore, naturally thought that the first priority should be given to the linking of Assam with the rest of the country by means of railway which passes through Indian territory and not through Pakistan. That was done in record time by our Railway Department and I have travelled to this part on that railway in this visit of mine.

The Government is also aware that you need a railway to link this part with, say, Goalpara or Dhubri. The matter is under active consideration and a survey is going to be made. Once it is done, many industries will grow up here as you say. The Government is giving also a high priority to the making of the roads to connect these parts with other parts of Assam and outlying areas. I was told that if I had come last year as proposed, I would have found the journey to this place a little more difficult than it has been today. That means that within this year communications have been improved to some extent. That is symbolical of the desire of the Government to connect all parts of your State with the rest of the country.

Assam is a most beautiful part of India. Here we have side by side the biggest river and sprawling mountains, green fields and big dense forests. All these go to make this part of the country beautiful, but they also make communications difficult. We are trying and, we hope, we shall succeed in maintaining the beauty and at the same time improving the communications. The Communications Ministry has under contemplation the opening here of a number of post offices and telegraph offices.

It is also proposed to have a landing ground for aircraft in convenient places where other means of communication cannot be opened.

When the Partition came more than six years ago, the country was in a very difficult position regarding food. We were importing a huge quantity of foodgrains from foreign countries. Thank God, we are now nearly out of the wood and are able to produce enough for our needs. In the same way we hope we shall be able to surmount other difficulties which still confront us. That has been possible because the people as a whole have realized the importance of self-sufficiency in the matter of food. They have all helped in producing more. There is no dearth of cloth now in the country. I am hoping that any other difficulties that we still have will be solved without much delay. After all, our independence is only six years old and what was not achieved, not even thought of, for such a long time has been achieved within this period. I would, therefore, earnestly ask you to devote all your energies to the betterment of your own conditions through the Council which has been established here.

A Constitution can be only what its people want it to be. If you make good use of the Constitutional provisions, you will find they are good enough for you. You may rest assured that the Government of India and the Government of Assam will ever be ready to give you such assistance and help as you need. We know the difficulties which you have to face and the Government of India have been trying to help you. The opportunities that you have now got are of great value. They place your destinies in your own hands and we are ready to give you such assistance as you require.

You have mentioned the services of the missionaries. I am glad to be able to bear testimony to the very good work that the missionaries have been doing in various parts of the country. I have before this borne testimony to this fact on several occasions. I am, therefore, not surprised that you have spoken so highly about them. I would only suggest most respectfully one

consideration for them. All of us, whether Christians or non-Christians, appreciate their services. But as Mahatma Gandhi used to say, we would have appreciated their services all the more if they had not been conditioned by one thing and rendered purely out of love for you and not with a view to conversion. But that is a point which they have to consider. Our *Gita* tells us that our objective should be to do, to serve, leaving the results in God's hands. It tells us not to hanker for results but only to serve. If the service had been rendered in that spirit, it would have been still more welcome. Our Constitution pledges itself to give freedom to every individual in the country to have any faith he likes. A Christian is as dear to India as a Hindu or a Muslim or a follower of any other religion. We know too that a Christian regards himself as an Indian as much as a Hindu does. That has been one of our great points not only now but since time immemorial.

To you who live in these hills, it is not necessary to point out that for reaching a peak you can go by several routes. We want everyone to feel that the peak is his and he can reach it by any route that he chooses. Therefore there can be no objection to any Christian preaching Christianity to Indian Christians or even to non-Christians and the Government is determined to give full effect to these provisions of the Constitution. I know that for some time past some kind of agitation with regard to missionaries has been going on. There is no objection to any Christian preaching his religion. If any objection has been taken, that is not due to the preaching of Christianity, but due to other kinds of activities which some of them have been allegedly carrying on. There is even less objection to any social service which anyone has to render to the people. But at the same time, we expect that those who come to our country for this purpose, will confine their activities to preaching alone and if that is done, there can be and there will be no difficulty whatsoever.

You have been good enough to give me a number of valuable things as presents. I am glad you have chosen things which

are peculiar to these parts of the country. I have accepted them all as token of your love, not for me personally but for the office I hold and the country I represent, and they will form part of the decorations of Rashtrapati Bhavan.

I thank you once again for all the enthusiasm and the love which you have displayed and I wish you all success in the great work which you here as members of the Council have undertaken for the service of the people. Jai Hind.

*AN INTEGRAL PART OF INDIA.

I am glad to be here with you this morning. I thank you very much for the welcome that you have extended to me. I have come here with one special object, and it is to see with my own eyes and hear with my own ears what I have not seen and heard about you although I am aware of the conditions prevailing here through official reports, etc. You are right in saying that I have come here to find out for myself whether what I have read is correct or not. The purpose of my visit is to see how the Government can help you best.

The Constitution of India has given a special place to the Tribal people. Especially for the Tribal people who are living in the hills of Assam, there are special provisions in it. Those are intended to enable you to fashion your own life and rule yourself in the way best suited to your genius. India is a very big country and there are people with different languages, different religions, different modes of life inhabiting this vast country. Just as on the land you have rivers, mountains and plains, so also with man of whom we have different types. We have amongst men who are Hindus, who are Christians, who are Muslims, Parsees or Sikhs. Just as the different things that you see in the country do not make each mountain, each river a different country, so also amongst men each community does not become a separate piece of humanity. They all go to constitute one single nation and that is the Indian people.

Moving amongst you I have been impressed by one thing more than anything else. I have seen how Tribal people are fond of different colours. For each piece of cloth that they wear and tie round their waist, they have different colours. These different colours on the same piece of cloth do not make each yarn of it a different cloth. All these colours of the cloth go to

*Reply to welcome address presented by Tribal people of Dala (Assam), 19th February, 1954.

make one piece which looks so beautiful because of the variety of colours. Even so different types of people living in this country go to constitute one single nation.

I would ask you to realize our great achievement in winning independence. It means independence not for any group or any class or any particular part of the country. It is the independence not only for every individual but for every group and every part of the country, and that means that each one of you has the same right, has the same powers as anyone else in this country. There are, of course, differences existing amongst different classes of the people. We are anxious to place every individual in a position where he can become equal in every respect. For that purpose it is necessary that the standard of living of the backward classes should be raised so that every individual in this country may have full meals every day, everyone may have enough clothing to cover himself, everyone may have a house to live in, everyone may have equal facilities of education and medical aid in case of illness. All this is provided in the Constitution and the Government will try to achieve all these things. While the Government is your representative Government, it has to depend upon you for fulfilling its great objectives. We, therefore, ask every individual to realize not only his rights and privileges in this country but also his duties and responsibilities. It has, therefore, given me great pleasure to hear that in the village community projects, people are taking part enthusiastically.

You have mentioned some of the things which you require in these parts. The Government is fully cognizant of these things and is trying to do its best to supply them to you. The question of linking this part of the country with the general system of railways is under consideration and active investigation. The question of linking these parts with the rest of the State by roads is also receiving consideration and some of these roads are actually under construction. The Government of Assam is giving priority to the construction of these roads. They

are necessary not only because you are near the border but also because roads are necessary to enable you to improve your own condition.

Similarly with regard to the spread of education and medical relief, steps have been and are being taken constantly by your Council. I will ask you to do your best so far as your part in that kind of work is concerned. I have received your address and I have also had a talk with the members of the Council as well as your representatives in the State Assembly. All that you have said will be borne in mind and efforts will be made to fulfil them as quickly as possible.

I thank you once again for your kind words.

*A SIMPLE AND HAPPY COMMUNITY.

It has given me great pleasure to be with you today. I have long been looking forward to an opportunity to visit your island. I had heard about the beauty of this island and about the people who inhabit it, and I am glad that it has been possible for me to see this with my own eyes by meeting so many of you today. It is a matter of regret that on account of the distance, the contact that exists between your island and the mainland is not as close as it should be; but I hope that henceforward our contact will be closer and you will have visits from other persons from the mainland.

You have observed in your address that your life is simple and that your wants are not many. Within the short time that I have been here, I have observed that myself. I am glad to find, however, that the health of the people of this island seems to be quite good; and although you do not grow any cereals in this country, you are none the worse for that in the matter of your health. Nature has given you plenty of fruits and fish, and these suffice to give you good nutrition. The tall cocoanut trees not only add to the beauty of this place, but are also the main source of your income; and I am glad to be assured by you that the arrangement that has been made for the export sale of cocoanut satisfies you. You may rest assured that the Government of India will always be ready to give such assistance in the disposal of your products as may be necessary. I am glad you are also satisfied with the arrangement that has been made for the supply of goods that you require at reasonable and fair prices.

In India we are trying to establish a Welfare State, and naturally, being a part of India, you will also have your share in it. The objective of Welfare State is to make the people

*Speech in reply to welcome address presented at Lapati by the people of Car Nicobar, 13th March, 1954.

happy and comfortable in their lives. We are trying to establish that kind of society in other parts of the mainland. Fortunately many of the problems which we have to face there do not arise in your island. Here you have one kind of homogeneous population, and as far as I have been able to judge, you are all living quite happily as a family. You have your community life which helps you in not only keeping each one individually happier, but also in managing things in the public interest.

You have in Bishop Richardson your representative in our Parliament. He will be always there to represent anything which you wish to be represented to the Government, and I am sure the Government will always listen to your demands with the attention and respect which is due to you. The Government is pledged to give every part of the country the kind of administration which suits the people of the area concerned. We have got a democratic form of Government in which every man or woman of and above the age of 21 years is entitled to vote for membership of Parliament and the local Legislatures. Although Bishop Richardson has been nominated for the time being, I am sure if there had been an election, you would have voted for him. Because of the smallness of your population and because of certain reasons of administrative convenience, it has not been possible yet to extend the right of vote to these small islands. There is no doubt that the time will come, and that too before long, when everyone in this island also will have the right of vote as everyone on the mainland has. We are anxious to help every part of the country and you may rest assured that your requirements will be attended to.

I am grateful to you for the characteristic way in which you have been good enough to receive me. Ever since the moment I landed, I have received nothing but love and affection from all of you. I was pleased to visit your school and to see its working. It has given me great pleasure to listen to the children singing Hindi songs and giving Hindi recitations. It was a still greater pleasure for me to have received your Address of welcome

in Hindi. Hindi, as you know, has been adopted by our Constitution as the language for all-India purposes and you have done well to start learning the language now. This will give you an advantage not only in the matter of contacts with people from the mainland, but also in securing government jobs for those who care for them. I hope you will utilise the opportunities which are now offered for your betterment.

In conclusion, let me repeat that we shall always be prepared to listen to and try to meet all your requirements. Treat yourself as one with the rest of the country. Your place there is assured and I have no doubt you will take advantage of that. I thank you for the kind words which you have addressed me and for the hearty welcome which you have given me. I thank you also for your very kind presents, which I shall greatly value.

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ON THE GANDHIAN TECHNIQUE

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*NATURE AND SCOPE OF NON-VIOLENCE.

LORD BOYD-ORR, YOUR EXCELLENCIES & LADIES & GENTLEMEN,

With your permission I would like to speak sitting. Please do not regard it as want of courtesy on my part, but attribute it as a concession to the weakness of my flesh.

Yesterday when I had the first opportunity of meeting the illustrious members of this Seminar, I put myself a question jokingly as to what they would expect me to say today. Yet, behind that joke there was a certain seriousness, because I felt some difficulty as to what I should say. You have had the advantage of discussing in detail and coming in contact with some of those who were life-long co-workers of Gandhiji. You have listened to what they have had to say about his life, about his work, about his principles, about his technique, and I fear that without knowing what they have said, I might innocently and unknowingly be striking a jarring note here and there, or simply repeating what you have already heard. But I felt that Gandhiji, his teaching, his philosophy, his life, all have many facets and we, who have had the privilege of coming in contact with him, have not always been able to take a comprehensive view of his entire teaching and have occasionally kept ourselves immersed in particular aspects with which we were individually concerned.

Gandhiji had the knack of selecting people for different kinds of work, and he gave to each what his genius was fitted for, what his training, his upkeep, his capacity was suited for.

Therefore, while accepting the general background and the principles underlying his entire teaching, we have occasionally made ourselves narrow in our outlook, laying emphasis more than was necessary on one aspect, ignoring some other aspects. This

*Address to the Seminar on Gandhian Technique, New Delhi,
17th January, 1953.

is not a reason for blaming anyone, because this thing has arisen because of deep attachment to that particular aspect, because of deep conviction in regard to that particular aspect; and I felt that the very lack of that depth of attachment, the very lack of that depth of conviction might sometimes prove to be an advantage, particularly in my case, and I could place before you a comprehensive view which would not emphasize any one particular aspect but could take into account the whole of what Gandhiji stood for and wanted.

LINK BETWEEN INSTITUTIONS.

You will understand the significance of what I am saying when you remember that Gandhiji established a number of institutions, each dealing with one particular aspect of his teaching. We have had the Spinners' Association, the Village Industries Association, the Talimi Sangh, the Go Seva Sangh, and last, but not the least, the Indian National Congress which, though it had been in existence and had been functioning for many years before he came on the scene, he reorganised; he galvanised it, vitalised it and expanded it beyond all recognition. Now all these various institutions—I have not named all—all of these devoted themselves to particular aspects. Gandhiji in his own person formed the one co-ordinating factor, one connecting link between all these different institutions.

Gandhiji was not a philosopher or a thinker in the sense that he sat in his study, thought out a philosophy of life and chalked out a programme of action which he left to others to study and to implement. He had some fundamental principles to which he stuck in his life; but with regard to the rest, he took up the work that came to him, found solutions for problems that presented themselves to him, and in that way, without defining and putting down on paper, as in a text-book, his entire conception of life and society, he dealt with particular individual questions and covered almost the whole of life, particularly in this country. There was no department of life in India which he did not touch, which he did not influence, and in which he

did not make his own contribution. In that way he evolved a complete picture of society, arising not from a study, arising not from abstract thought, but arising out of practical experience of everyday problems, finding their solutions, meeting the difficulties and getting others to see his point of view and accept it.

I had another difficulty also. That was more or less a personal difficulty and yet it was not entirely personal.

Gandhiji's name is associated with non-violence, with no-war, and I felt a kind of incongruity in my addressing this conference. I am supposed to be the Head of a State which has not renounced war, which has not abjured violence, which still maintains her army; not only that, a State which has not accepted and implemented Gandhiji's economic programme also. What right had I, as the Head of that State, to address you gentlemen coming from distant countries to know what Gandhiji did and Gandhiji wanted to do? But I felt again that while you could draw inspiration from what Gandhiji had achieved, you could draw guidance from what he attempted to achieve but did not achieve and left his work and his experiment incomplete. You could also draw some lesson from our attempts and perhaps even more from our failures. And I felt, if I could not do anything else, I could draw your attention to this side and you might perhaps make some use of that.

ROOT CAUSE OF VIOLENCE.

Now, Gandhiji had a picture of his own of society, because he felt that non-violence could not be established and violence could not be abjured unless the causes which led to violence, which made non-violence difficult of application, were removed. We know that all conflict in this world arises because of conflicting desires of individuals and these desires relate to something material, something external, something which the other man also wants, but which cannot be made available to or shared by both.

Paradoxical as it may seem, Gandhiji made removal of the poverty of our people as one of the fundamental planks in his active programme, but at the same time, as far as I can judge, he was never enamoured of an undefined, indefinite, unlimited rise in the standard of our living as dependent upon external things. While he wanted that we should have our essentials of life, that no one should be troubled by want of these essentials, he also felt that no one was entitled or at any rate no one should desire to have more than the essentials. These essentials were not to be determined by the individual himself, but by other considerations.

One of these considerations must be that what is essential for him must be essential for others also, and, therefore, it should be capable of being shared by all; and so long as that was not possible, he had no right to regard it as an essential for himself. In other words, he insisted on a limitation of our physical and material needs. Again, in a society which is based primarily on a desire to extend and expand these needs, he felt you could not avoid violence. And therefore, we have to go back to a stage when you have to limit your requirements and when you have to set a limit not only upon what you want for yourself but upon what you want also for others, because it is this want which is at the basis of conflicts and has in it the seeds of violence. Therefore, it was that he wanted a society in which the principal factor would not be the multiplication of wants or the means for supplying these wants in the quickest manner possible, but a society which would ensure to all what is absolutely necessary and at the same time not create conditions which cannot but end in competition and, ultimately, in violence.

REMOVING CAUSES OF CONFLICT.

Whenever we think of conflict, we have to consider the various aspects which create conflict. I have mentioned one. There are various other things which create conflict. We have got differences of opinion, maybe with regard to religion, maybe

with regard to our ideas of society, maybe with regard to individual's rights and duties. And Gandhiji wanted that you must remove from society the causes which lead to these conflicts also. By limiting our physical and material requirements, we would be removing one such cause. We would be removing the other causes by recognising the right of others to have similar rights and our own duties towards others to allow them to enjoy those rights. This could be done only by non-violence.

In a society if some people want to force their own opinions upon others, be they religious opinions, be they opinions relating to politics, relating to any other department of human life and thought, they cannot avoid conflict. There must be violence. It is only when that complete freedom is assured to everybody, and that can be done only when this duty is recognised and emphasised—rather than the right to have your own opinion—that you can succeed in removing that conflict. These are some of the aspects of that society which he envisaged for himself, which he envisaged we should have, at any rate, in this country.

As I said, he did not start with a clear-cut programme or a chart. He took up individual questions as they arose. The biggest question in this country was the question of freedom and, naturally, his attention was very largely concentrated on the attainment of that freedom. In attaining that freedom, he limited the means which we were to use and he insisted not only on not using violence but also on not even thinking about violence or talking about it. I am aware that while this was his own attitude, he did not refuse co-operation with others who were not prepared to go so far. In adopting non-violence as the method for attainment of our freedom, while he himself believed in that kind of non-violence as a creed, he co-operated with others who were not prepared to go so far, but who were prepared to observe non-violence in action while engaged in this struggle.

INDIA'S TRADITION OF NON-VIOLENCE.

Thus it was that he was able to gather round him a large number of people who would otherwise have not gone to him if he had insisted upon non-violence in thought and word also. I know very few people really who were able to exclude violence from thought and there were not a few who betrayed violence in words. But those who actually betrayed violence in action were few and that is how he succeeded. He was fortunate that he found in this country soil which was fitted for his experiment. We have our own old tradition of non-violence. Friends from Europe will excuse me if I mention one fact. I have not travelled much and cannot claim to have seen much of any other country, but I paid a short visit to Europe and going through the streets. I was struck by one fact and that was that everywhere you saw memorials to warriors, you saw memorials to wars and victories. You don't see that kind of thing in this country. And we have the proud tradition that in our long history there has not been one instance when India sent out, for invading or conquering, her army to another country. We have sent out conquerors of a very different type, conquerors in the realm of culture, in the realm of knowledge, in the realm of religion, and if you look at the history of the world you will see that our conquest has been more lasting, has been more fruitful than the conquest of one country by another country that we know of. We have got still silken bonds of relationship with those countries with which we established our cultural relations and it was this background of history which gave him an advantage.

There was another thing which also gave him an advantage, although it is of very dubious value. We were disarmed, we were unable to fight with arms, and not a few of us saw in his method a way out of our difficult position, when we could win our freedom without resort to arms. There it was, a doubtful advantage, because to that extent it weakened our faith in non-violence. Anyhow, we carried on and we succeeded to some extent.

And the question now that you have to tackle and which, as I understand, you have been tackling, is the question whether the same method can be applied in dealing with tensions between nations and within nations. Gandhiji thought that it could be applied and that it should be applied; not that he was not conscious of weakness of human beings, not that he was foolhardy and would take risks. We have several instances in our own country when he called off a movement which was supposed to have reached its height, as soon as he noticed some weakness. And it was not until the last World War had made some progress that he gathered courage to place before the world this weapon of non-violence. There were occasions when he was invited by other countries to take his message to them, but his reply used to be, 'let me make good what I claim in my own country, and then there will be time for me to go elsewhere. Otherwise, unless I am able to make good my claim in my own country, what right have I to expect that other people will listen to me'?

INDIA AND THE WAR EFFORT.

During the last war, a situation, which was a very difficult situation, arose, and I am afraid there was a great misunderstanding of this attitude. The Rulers of this country—the Government—misunderstood him. That is understandable, and in my view, even excusable, because they knew no other method and they felt that in that war which was a sort of a life and death struggle, anyone who was not with them was against them and they were therefore entitled—because Gandhiji did not like to be with them in the war—to treat him as being against them. But the misunderstanding was not only on the part of the Government; the misunderstanding, to some extent, was among our own people and perhaps amongst us also, those who claimed to be near him and roundabout him.

Just when the Second World War started, and he saw Lord Linlithgow, he broke down in the course of the interview, when he pictured to himself the ruin and devastation that the war

would bring to London, which he knew so well. And yet he did not have the least hesitation in declaring that India should not and could not participate in the war or help the war effort. There is a seeming contradiction in this position, but really there is no such contradiction. He had sympathy for England, just as he would have sympathy for any other people in trouble, but at the same time he was firm in his conviction that war would not solve the problem, that war would not really lead the world anywhere, and therefore, while sympathising, he was not prepared to yield on the fundamental principle.

ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE FIRST WAR.

This was in contrast with what he had done in the First World War, when he had actually supported the Government, gone out of his way to help recruitment of soldiers in this country. Many friends belonging to the pacifist school were unable to understand that position. Gandhiji's view then was that the British Empire was, on the whole, for the good of the world. At any rate, India was deriving certain benefits from it. He also believed that it was capable of being converted, of being induced to change its own viewpoint and accept that of its opponent. He had experience of that in South Africa. He had some experience of that in his very first large-scale movement which he led in Champaran in 1917. He had not yet lost faith in that Empire and therefore he felt that if he was prepared to enjoy security under its aegis, it was his duty to help it in its time of need.

That position had completely changed in 1940. He had lost that faith and he had engaged the whole country in a serious struggle against the Empire—not against the British people, but against the British rule.

And therefore in 1940 he was in a position to say, "we do not want your protection. We do not care whether you defend us or not; leave us, leave us to chaos or to God". And having reached that stage, he was in a position to say, "no more help of any kind in this war". We of the Congress parted company.

Some felt that it was a good opportunity for bargaining, getting what we wanted on condition of help. Others took a more altruistic view and felt that it was necessary to help the Allies because their cause was just. Neither of these things moved Gandhiji because he felt that we would not be serving really either the cause of non-violence or even the cause of those who were engaged in this war, and he therefore stood out against any kind of assistance in this war.

It was, if I may say so, the folly of the British Government that they did not accept the help which was offered by the Congress, and thus created a situation in which though the Congress and Gandhiji had parted company, they were again brought together, because having lost in their attempt to get what they wanted from the British Government, they also felt that there was no go but to say that we shall not help in this war. And this is what happened in 1940, and on a very much bigger scale in 1942.

GANDHIJI AND FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

I said, perhaps, you might draw some lesson from our failures. It is this aspect of this struggle to which I desire to draw your particular attention. We failed at that moment and we adopted a course which was not liked by him, which was really the course of expediency but not of principle, not of truth, not of non-violence, and no wonder that thereafter we have not been able to catch up to Gandhiji's ideals and Gandhiji's programme. Having slipped there, we have not been able to feel that we can do away with violence and need have no resort to violence in any circumstances. It was at this stage that Gandhiji wrote his letter to Herr Hitler. He published his appeal to the Czechs to resist non-violently, and addressed his letter to every Briton not to indulge in war but to achieve what they wanted by non-violence.

Unfortunately, and to our shame, to our indelible shame, Gandhiji was taken away from us just at the time when he would

have been in a position to make this bigger experiment. We have in history individuals who have experimented with non-violence in their own lives and taught others to experiment with non-violence in their lives. Gandhiji it was who brought it into play on a large scale to settle differences between groups, between nations.

As I said, he found suitable ground in this country and he found also—I must confess—noble adversaries who were capable of yielding to the appeal which non-violence makes. They had set a limit to their own action below which the British could not and did not go, and we must admit, we must confess, that Gandhiji's success was due very largely to himself and his people but also to the British. I do not know, and it would be mere speculating as to what would have happened if we had got an adversary of another kind altogether, who put no limit to his own atrocities, who put no limit to what he could do to an adversary who was proving himself dangerous. I do not know what would have happened. Whether we would have been able to stand the strain or whether even such an adversary would have been won over and conquered by non-violence, is a matter of speculation.

PROGRAMME OF EDUCATION.

There the experiment remained incomplete, and it is for you all now to extend that experiment to that sphere and find out how far you can succeed in the present age and in present conditions. I know there are innumerable difficulties, but the people ought to be educated. Gandhiji did not, therefore, neglect education. But the education that he envisaged and programmed was of a somewhat different kind from the education that we hear of in other countries. His programme of education was a programme of real unfoldment, all the time bringing out something that was within the child by removing all the outward inhibitions and external obstacles. His scheme of education did not contemplate levelling everybody to one dead level. His scheme was not, just as we see on our roads where the big and the small pieces of

stone are all rolled down by a big steam-roller to one level. It was a scheme in which every child would have full play to go to would every child grow in non-violence, he would also be able to in its own way, and because there will be no violence, not only understand and appreciate it.

I am, therefore, glad that the Seminar has given so much attention to the question of education but I would like you to consider also—not now in this Seminar, but in your own respective spheres and whenever you meet again—whether it is not desirable to bring in Gandhiji's idea of society in which needs would be limited. Without that, I, feel, exploitation cannot be ended. If exploitation cannot be ended, it means violence cannot be ended.

I heard with great attention and respect the report which Lord Boyd-Orr made. There was one sentence which rather struck me in a peculiar way. You have decided that you permit maintenance of armies for defensive purposes. I do not know of any war which an aggressive party regards as an offensive war. Every war in world history has been a defensive war, and so long as you keep this room, this loophole open for defensive war, non-violence in its fulness will not be established. Someone has to take the courage. Gandhiji took the courage so far as our own country was concerned when he said 'leave us to chaos and to God, but please do not involve us in this war and do not expect us to give help in the war'.

NO SUBMISSION TO WRONG.

I do not know what he would have said and what we would have done if he were alive today to guide us and to give us his inspiration. But I do feel that he made the position perfectly clear when he made an appeal to the fighting parties during the last war in his various writings to desist from war. It will be wrong to imagine that he at any moment contemplated submission to wrong. That was against his whole nature, his whole being. What he objected to was submission to the lower part

of our own nature, that is to say, submission to the sense of hatred, submission to a sense of retaliation, submission to a kind of cowardice, which cannot protect the individual or the nation without striking somebody else. He wanted that kind of courage which would stand the worst that the enemy could do without even feeling resentment against that enemy. He would resist him to the last, and he would successfully resist him because the last step would be the loss of his own life, and the loss of life meant his victory and defeat for the opponent, because the opponent could not get him to submit to him. Unless some nation to-day takes this courage in its own hands and comes out with a clear-cut programme of no-war under any circumstances, defensive or offensive, no armament of any kind, the battle for non-violence will continue and is not likely to end in its victory.

Some nation has to take that courage; I do not know who will. Evidently, today we are unable to do it although we claim to be the inheritors of Gandhiji's teaching, but somebody has to do it, and, let me hope, that as a result of the deliberations that you have had, you would be able to carry this message to other countries. There is a saying in our country that sometimes there is no light directly under the lamp, although there may be light all round. I hope we shall not prove the truth of that statement, but let me hope that you will prove its truth by taking the light.

I am sure this Seminar would have done a great deal if it could lay before the world this aspect of his teaching, which is, I consider, a practical proposition, a proposition which can be implemented if only we have the courage to do it.

I thank you all for the patience with which you have listened to me, and I am grateful for the opportunity that I have had of coming in contact with such illustrious persons and of listening to them, although only for a short time. I wish all success to your noble endeavour.

*TRUE HAPPINESS.

I am glad to have come here today on the invitation of the Chairman of the Delhi Municipal Committee for unveiling the statue of Mahatma Gandhi. I am thankful to him for giving me this opportunity to participate in today's celebrations so that we may give some thought to Gandhiji's teachings. It was 85 years ago that the Mahatma was born. He rendered such great service not only to the people of India but to those of the world that even if we are unable today to understand and appreciate him fully, a time is bound to come when the world will do so.

I had no hesitation to accept this invitation to unveil Gandhiji's statue, but on second thought I wondered if it was necessary at all for him to have a memorial of this kind. I was at once reminded of the thousands of historical monuments scattered all over Delhi. Once upon a time these monuments were beautiful buildings, the very embodiment of royal grandeur. Some of the places which must have once been the abodes of kings and nobles and citadels of power, have been reduced to ruins with the passing of time. I could not help thinking of these monuments or what remains of them. Seeing these places, the inescapable thought that it is futile to erect such monuments in memory of man occurs to one's mind. Not only in this country but everywhere else in the world wherever people raised monuments in memory of the great, all such structures are today in ruins, entrusted to the care of Archæological Departments. Except for the archæologists, few even know in whose memory they were erected. If people occasionally visit these places, it is not because of the men in whose memory they were raised, but because of the importance of the monuments themselves. All these monuments are, therefore, in fact, no more than memorials to certain historical events, good or ominous.

*Speech made while unveiling Mahatma Gandhi's Statue, Delhi, 11th October, 1954.

We also know that there have been great souls whose names are on the lips of millions of people but in whose memory monuments of brick and mortar were never raised. Millions pay homage to the memory of such men by following the path enjoined in their teachings. Perhaps in later years their followers too raised structural monuments in their memory, but certainly they live today in people's minds not because of these monuments but because of the life-giving message they left behind. It is this class of men to which Mahatma Gandhi belongs. Therefore, I think it is not necessary to build such monuments in his memory. He will be remembered best for his teachings, his simple living and high thinking and his life of purity.

There are millions of people in our country today who have seen Mahatma Gandhi and often heard him. There are many who came in contact with him and have thereby raised themselves high. There are also some who understood him fully and who have tried to act up to his teachings in actual life. Gandhiji's programme of work was so comprehensive that everyone could get something of interest from his life. He never sat down to compile the tenets of his faith in the form of a treatise. He was a free and original thinker and formulated his own principles to grapple with the various problems as they came his way. There is no aspect or problem of life, particularly life in India, to which he did not apply his principles and which he did not try to resolve in their light. Therefore, if we view his life, we shall find that there is nothing concerning the individual and social life which he has left untouched. This is not the occasion to dilate upon that; nor have I sufficient time to do so. I also feel that I may not be competent to deal with it. I would like to say a word or two about some of his basic principles today.

There has been, in recent years, a tremendous increase in scientific knowledge of the forces of nature and the way to control them and utilise them according to the will of man, so much so, that the prosperity of nations varies in proportion to the

degree of their mastery of this knowledge. The United States of America is looked upon as a rich and prosperous country. I have heard of an interesting proof of their prosperity. The U.S.A. with a population of about 17 crores has over 4.5 crores of motor cars, which means that if we take four people to be a family unit, every family there has more than one car. I am told ordinary workers and labourers in America go to their respective factories and return home after work in their own cars. At the other end of the scale are many backward countries whose people do not get even two square meals a day and who are devoid of all amenities which are considered the source of happiness and prosperity today.

It seems to have been taken for granted that by acquiring certain material resources we can raise the standard of living of human beings. Following this principle, all the countries of the world are set upon acquiring and multiplying their resources. It is no doubt right that a hungry man cannot think of praying. Mahatma Gandhi himself once said that the hungry man sees God only in the form of bread. But even then we should think how far this kind of material prosperity can lead to real happiness. I have also heard that the countries which are known to be prosperous and resourceful are not blessed with mental peace, whereas, on the other hand, we find lots of poor people, who excite our pity, leading a happy and contented existence. The truth is that the source of real happiness is in one's own inner self and not in the outside world. We equate happiness with the world of external things and that is why there is a scramble for acquisition and accumulation of things. The fact is that these things are, at best, no more than means to achieve happiness and not happiness itself. One can experience happiness even without them. Apart from this, it is worthwhile considering what is real happiness.

I think real happiness or peace of mind means the complete freedom from extraneous pressure or restraint or inhibitions. One basic fact which must be recognised is that any kind of

inhibition or restraint is irksome. It ceases to be irksome only when it becomes something voluntarily accepted or adopted without restraint or coercion. It is this voluntary adoption of any line of thought or action without restraint or coercion from outside which brings real happiness. Any subtraction from complete freedom is loss of freedom to that extent and implies dependence on something else. Man as a member of society or even as an individual has long ceased to be fully free, if he ever was or can be free. All that can be aimed at or achieved is the reduction or minimization of this restraint or coercion and increasing to the maximum the freedom which man enjoys. His material requirements can be satisfied, it is obvious, only by subjecting himself to some curtailment of this freedom. His mental satisfaction and possibly his spiritual aspiration become reduced in quantum and perhaps also in quality by the amount of material satisfaction which in the very nature of things implies restraint. What is generally termed progress has tended more and more to restrict man's freedom. In every department of life and activity man has to submit more and more to external restraints and inhibitions. It follows that there must be consequential and proportionate diminution in the mental satisfaction and spiritual endeavour even though man may not feel that restraint or realise the ever-growing restraint being put on him from day-to-day. It is thus clear that real happiness lies in freedom from restraint, which, in turn, implies man's capacity to carry on with as little dependence on others as possible. We cannot escape from the conclusion that what is generally called high standard of living has served to increase our dependence on others and to that extent has removed us further from real happiness.

We see in the world of today that distance between country and country has almost been eliminated and nations living far apart from one another have come closer so that if something happens at one place it has its repercussions far and wide. It does not hold good with regard to only dreadful things like war but also of beneficent activities. One of the results of this

progress has been that man is now dependent for his daily necessities of life on far off countries. An example will clarify the point. Many of us present here today have known the days when the railway system in India was not expanded to the present extent, when there were no cars or automobiles of any kind and when we had not even heard of the aeroplanes. At that time also food was as important as it is today. Then every community depended for its food on itself and on the land which it cultivated. True, if there was failure of a crop on account of natural calamities like floods or drought, the community suffered. But otherwise it managed to live on what it produced and learnt in course of time the wisdom and the prudence to save food for emergencies. On account of the improvement in the means of transport today foodgrains can be easily supplied from one part of the country to another. We saw recently that food had to be dropped by aeroplanes on areas which were rendered inaccessible by flood. All this sounds so nice, but we have to see whether these developments have enhanced or restricted our freedom. My feeling is that by increasing such needs as he cannot fulfil himself, man has necessarily restricted his freedom.

By giving the example of food imports, I have tried to show our dependence on other countries. That is not all. If far off Argentina, Canada or America has a bumper wheat crop, it results in the falling of wheat prices in India. Because of the improved means of transport the availability or otherwise of things does not depend on local conditions but on the overall world conditions. If food cannot be imported from other countries because of some natural calamity or as a result of the outbreak of war, the needy country will have to suffer untold misery. We saw how during the last war people of even the neutral countries had to suffer because of the restrictions on export and import of certain articles from overseas. So, there are two aspects of this progress. If it promises plenty during peace time, it also threatens to release a rich harvest of sufferings and privations in case communications are dislocated on account of hostilities.

It is necessary to remember that even if all of our requirements are satisfied, we are bartering our freedom for that satisfaction. For instance whenever there is disease in an epidemic form in the country, we have to depend on other countries to supply us with medicines. Similarly whenever there is a famine, others can save us from its dire consequences, but at the same time, if they like, they can also starve us by withholding the supply of foodgrains. If war breaks out today the belligerents need not resort to deadly weapons in order to kill others. They can do it equally effectively by disrupting the system of transport. Therefore, while on the one hand, we are endeavouring to raise the standard of living, those very efforts might result in the curtailing of our freedom and self-dependence.

In spite of this all-round progress we have not yet reached a stage when we could produce an article in sufficient quantity so as to meet the requirements of all the peoples of the world. When we cannot say this about food, which tops the list of man's needs, it is no use talking about other things which are produced in still lesser quantities. That is why the standard of living of all the countries is not uniformly high and presents an unpleasant contrast. Those who possess more are anxious to extort more and more from those who do not possess much. The result is naturally conflict between man and man and country and country. The fear of this conflict has become a nightmare for the modern man.

While preaching truth and *Ahimsa*, Gandhiji also warned us against the dangerous temptation of acquisition and hoarding. He thought that hoarding was no better than theft. It is because of this tendency in man that conflicts arise. Although, to some extent, hoarding of things is not only unavoidable but also desirable, yet for the attainment of real happiness, it has to be avoided as far as possible. He gave the first place to *Ahimsa* in his programme for getting the better of this tendency and for clearing the way to real happiness. In plain language, *Ahimsa* can be defined as the avoidance of coercion and undue

pressure on others. We cannot possibly escape conflicts if we go on increasing our needs of hoardable things. These conflicts may be individual or collective. This can result only in one thing, namely, putting pressure on others, and placing them in difficulty for fulfilling our wishes.

It is, therefore, necessary to realize that what we have assumed as axiomatic truth, namely, that increase in material prosperity also means the attainment of happiness, is neither quite correct nor so self-evident. This assumption is true only up to a certain limit, and the more we transgress this limit the more remote become our chances of being happy. This limit has to be fixed by man himself. This is undoubtedly beset with countless difficulties, but I do think that it is not altogether impossible for man to achieve happiness without the usual paraphernalia which passes for his everyday necessities. This is exactly what is meant by the adage, 'simple living and high thinking'. It was by practising this truth that Mahatma Gandhi could enjoy in his hut the happiness which an humble follower of his is unable to have even in the palatial Rashtrapati Bhavan.

I do not suggest that ambition or high aspirations or desire for progress should be discouraged. But let us be sure that our will to progress and rise high will materialise in the true sense only after we have realised that the source of our happiness does not lie outside us but is enshrined within our own hearts. Our happiness will vary directly in proportion to the degree of our faith in the above truth. The more we try to achieve happiness, basing it on the outside world, the more we shall be inviting conflicts and depriving others of their happiness.

On this solemn occasion, if we could realise the futility of this kind of memorials and the artificiality of what is generally regarded as happiness, I should think that we shall not have met in vain at this function today.

*A COMMUNITY CENTRE FOR HARIJANS.

I consider it a privilege to be called upon to open the Mahatma Gandhi Community Centre in your Colony. This Centre is being started with the help of the monetary grant given by the Ford Foundation of America. I am sure the people of this Colony can consider themselves as lucky, not only because the first Community Centre is being opened here but also because the Father of the Nation has lived here for many a week. This place has been sanctified by his sermons, which, delivered after the prayer meetings held in this Colony before and after India's independence, still echo in our ears. You can rightly feel proud of the fact that the words which stirred the people not only of this country but many in foreign lands, were uttered at this place.

Among the few things which were closest to Gandhiji's heart was the uplift of those called Harijans. He had espoused the cause of the backward people, particularly the Harijans, even before he came into the political arena. Temperamentally he was not an arm-chair idealist; he was far more keen about practice than about theory. Therefore, the moment he took a decision, he began to translate his resolve into action. He was always happy to see and talk to Harijans and as far as possible he loved to stay in their midst.

Our country has given to the world quite a few lofty reformers like Gautam Budha, who considered the service of humanity and relieving the distressed as the great mission of their lives. India can legitimately raise its head even today and say that Mahatma Gandhi was also one of that distinguished line of succession.

This Centre is being opened after the name of that noble soul. Not only this small Colony where the Centre will be housed,

*Speech made while inaugurating the Mahatma Gandhi Community Centre at the Harijan Colony, New Delhi, 5th April, 1954.



At the Mahatma Gandhi Centre at the Harijan Colony New Delhi

but the whole country will draw upon this Institution for inspiration. It is the duty of those who live in this Colony that, imbibing the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi, they learn to live neatly, go in for education and do not allow any inferiority complex to dominate them. The Constitution which our country has adopted lays down in clear words that here there will be perfect equality between man and man, that every one should get equal opportunity of progress and development and that there would be no distinction of high and low among our countrymen. As merely to say so will not take us anywhere, our Constitution provides that till the time the various groups and classes have come up to a uniform level, special privileges and facilities will be offered to the backward people to make up the leeway. I have an unswerving faith that the silvery rays of the sun, which has arisen on the Indian horizon after centuries of slavery, will brighten up every nook and corner of this I and of ours and that every citizen, irrespective of any distinction of colour, caste or creed, will feel the life-giving warmth of these rays.

The facilities which will be available to you in this Centre will give you an opportunity of all-round progress in life. There is a provision for education and recreation for children, medical care of the sick and also arrangements for social gatherings and pastimes for the grown-ups. Besides, you will be able to learn some trade or cottage industry. It is now for you to turn this opportunity to your advantage. You have before you a chance of making your lives happy and of training yourselves into good citizens.

As I said earlier this is the first Centre of its kind opened in this country. It is hoped that many more Centres like this will be eventually opened in other places. But you should not forget that your Centre will be looked upon as something in the nature of an experiment whose success or otherwise will affect the whole scheme of starting such centres. A heavy responsibility, therefore, devolves upon you. You have to make it a success so that all of you profit by it and the authorities also

get sufficient encouragement to pursue this scheme. I am confident that you will not only appreciate this responsibility but will be able to carry it out fully.

Before declaring this Centre open, I would like to congratulate you all. Let me hope that you will be guided and inspired by Bapu's immortal message, which you have heard several times, and that you will go ahead on the road to progress, making the task of Harijan uplift and social reform easier. In this noble work you have my best wishes with you.

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*KHADI AND GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS.

The work of propagating the use of Khadi has been engaging the attention of many of us for the last thirty or thirty-five years and there are many people here who have given a great deal of time and thought to this question. There is the difficulty of competition with mill-made cloth and there is also the further difficulty that we cannot get khadi in as large quantities as we require.

The economics of khadi are based on certain fundamental facts of life in this country. We know that India is an agricultural country and something like 70 to 80 per cent. of our population lives on agriculture in some form or another. If you consider the life of an agriculturist, you will find that however large or however small his holding may be, he and his family members cannot get full employment throughout the year and he cannot also leave his home and go elsewhere in search of employment because agriculture requires intermittent attention. If the hours and the days which are thus wasted by the agriculturist and the other members of his family could be utilised, we will have more than enough of khadi to clothe the whole country.

I do not think anybody would object to the low wages because they are earned at a time when the worker has no other work and cannot earn at all. The agriculturist can earn something and that something is not so very insignificant after all, because he need not purchase a single yard of cloth if he gives time to it. I can tell you from my personal experience that one hour of spinning a day yields sufficient yarn to give us as much cloth as we in India are using on an average, that is to say, 15 to 20 yards per head. I think if you take that aspect of khadi into consideration, the question of cheapness or dearness would not arise at all, because it is the result of the people's labour when they are idle. That is the fundamental aspect of khadi, but we

*Speech at the informal Conference of Central Ministers and Senior Officials, New Delhi, 29th August, 1953.

know that all the people are not always inclined to work. We are often inclined not to work. But with all these difficulties, I think, it is possible to propagate khadi as it was done in the past when Gandhiji started the movement and when we were not in the Government and did not expect any help from the Government. In spite of all that there was a class in the country who continued to use it. That class is still in existence. What we want now is that the other classes who were not in favour of khadi should also take it up and give it encouragement. I am glad the Finance Minister has agreed to give a subsidy to it.

A question has been raised about the expensiveness of saris for ladies. I think the question should not arise at all. I do not know whether our women are so fully engaged the whole day that they cannot spare one hour a day. If they can use their spare time in spinning they will be able to get a sari practically without any expense except that of the cotton. I think that will be cheaper than any other sari they can get elsewhere. If they start wearing khadi woven from yarn spun by their own hands they will not fail to appreciate it. By practice their skill will improve and their nimble fingers will produce khadi of a superior quality as it will be for their own saris.

Those of us who have actually known the production of khadi know what tremendous relief it gives to the class of people who have no other source of income. I remember the days when I myself used to go to khadi centres where yarn was purchased and where poor women clothed in rags would come from miles to sell small bundles of yarn. If their yarn was not purchased for one reason or the other, one could see clearly despair and despondency on their faces. One could not help feeling that was really of great service to the poorest class of people. I think things have not changed even today to such an extent as to obviate the necessity for this kind of relief.

I, therefore, suggest that when we think of khadi we should not think of the millowner or the mill-worker but of the poor woman in the village.

PROBLEM OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

We have been very much concerned with the problem of unemployment and very rightly too. When we take this problem into consideration you will realise the degree of employment provided by khadi. If I am not wrong a single man in a mill looking after spindles throws out of employment 200 men. One man looks after as many looms as would produce cloth equal to the output of ten to twelve weavers on handloom in a day. From that you can judge what a tremendous amount of unemployment a mill creates in a single day.

I am not here to plead that there should be no industrialisation in the country. That is a big question and that has to be dealt with on its own merits; but I am placing before you a fact which cannot be denied and the effect of which is being felt in the every-day life of the poor in this country. It is, therefore, necessary that when we think of khadi we should think of unemployment or underemployment of a large number of people who cannot get any other employment. If we look at it from that point of view, you will agree that any subsidy that can be given to it will not be wasted. If you do not give any subsidy, you will have to find some means of subsistence for these men and women. It is much better to support them with this subsidy.

It is our experience that when calamities like earthquakes and big floods occur, the opening of khadi centres in affected areas brings a lot of relief to the people. In fact, in connection with the recent floods in Bihar, I have received telegrams from khadi workers there asking for the utilisation of funds, placed at their disposal, for opening khadi centres.

The purchase of khadi is not altogether an act of charity. It will give employment to millions. By buying khadi we shall not be wasting money but investing it in artistic things. We have been spending crores by way of subsidies for the sugar and steel industries over the years. We never objected to it, because they needed them. I wish some kind of subsidy were given to khadi

also, because it deserves it more than any other organised industry.

SOME SUGGESTIONS.

I wish to make one or two suggestions. Many of you here are Heads of Departments. I do not suggest to the Army to use khadi for uniforms. I will not even suggest to the Police to use khadi uniforms. For one thing, we may not have enough khadi today for the purpose. But I do not see any reason why in Rashtrapati Bhavan and all other Government Departments, khadi should not be used, why spats, napkins, towels, curtains, dusters and so many other things which we use every day in offices, hospitals, etc., should not be of khadi. I, therefore, suggest the Government issue instructions that all the Departments, excepting those of the Police and Army should make all these purchases from khadi bhandars. If that is done, there will be a great fillip to the khadi movement, not only because a great deal of khadi will have been purchased by the Government, but also because it will have a great effect on the people. If this is done, the promotion, sale and disposal of khadi, which sometimes become a problem, will have been solved. And I can say if you can ensure the sale of khadi there will be no shortage in its production and supply. What is, therefore, needed is a stimulus to the use of khadi, not by force or coercion but by willing co-operation, by appreciating the fundamental facts about the economics of khadi.

I wish you gave thought to it not only from the economic point of view but also as a matter of national necessity which will help the poorest and also provide employment to a large number of people in the country.

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*SMALL-SCALE AND VILLAGE INDUSTRIES: THEIR PLACE IN OUR ECONOMY.

I am glad to have got this opportunity of saying a few words about khadi and village industries. I have always welcomed such occasions because I think cottage industries have an important role to play in the economic set-up of our country today. Perhaps it would have been unnecessary to lay emphasis on this point if there were not an impression prevailing among the people that cottage industries have no place in the present-day world in which industrialisation is looked upon as the hallmark of material progress. I am afraid this impression is as groundless as it is misleading. It is evident that in a country like India where 80 per cent. of the people live upon agriculture and allied callings, the only result of excessive industrialisation will be more production by fewer men, which instead of solving the problem of unemployment will render it more complicated. Its proof lies in the fact that although our country has advanced sufficiently on the road to industrialisation, the incidence of unemployment instead of coming down appears to have gone up.

In our country special significance is attached to handicrafts and such small-scale industries as can be easily managed at home during spare time. If we lose sight of this fact and imagine that we can solve the problem of unemployment through industrialisation, I am sure we shall only have disappointment in store for us. Unless the problem of unemployment is tackled successfully, we cannot remove poverty, because whatever the quantity of wealth available in the country, it can be shared only among those who have some kind of work to do. The main victims of poverty are, after all, those who are jobless or who may be partially employed. Therefore, it is in the interest of the people of the rural areas and of our country's prosperity as a whole that

*Speech at the inauguration of the Conference convened by the All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board, Poona, 17th November, 1954.

the wrong impression referred to above is corrected and all efforts made to popularise and improve our cottage industries.

The most important step adopted in this direction in recent years is, as pointed out by Shri Vaikunthbhai Mehta, the establishment of the All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board by the Government of India. By doing so, Government has not only recognized the importance of village industries but also taken upon itself the responsibility of improving them. It has been accepted as a matter of policy that in our planning for social and economic betterment small-scale industries ought to be given a place. Government has also undertaken to provide the necessary means to achieve this end. I do not think it is necessary for me to say much about the first Five-Year Plan. All of you know that Government has laid down in most unambiguous words its policy with regard to village industries in its Plan. As for the second Five-Year Plan, it has been decided that before finalising the draft of the section dealing with industries, representatives of the various small-scale industries should be consulted. The real problem is that of adjustment between the small-scale and the bigger industries. The aim of all industrial undertakings is to increase production and national wealth. We must see what place should be given to village industries and to bigger industrial undertakings in order to ensure India's maximum prosperity.

I admit that handicrafts and cottage industries can flourish only if certain concessions and facilities are offered to them. So far as facilities are concerned, Government of India has accepted, in principle, to provide such concessions to these industries as are likely to help them without at the same time affecting adversely the bigger industries. I should, therefore, think that the real problem is that of suggesting the right type of facilities needed by village industries. Khadi has received some impetus by whatever direct help has been given to it by Government. Consideration has also been given to the question of reserving a field for khadi and handloom industries, so that the element of competition between handloom and mill-made cloth is eliminated.

I think we have to extend this concession by reserving the fields for other cottage industries as well, so that in those fields bigger industries are not allowed to operate.

Till such concessions are given to cottage industries and as long as heavy industries are permitted to compete with them, it is difficult, if not impossible, for cottage industries to grow. But at present it is the bigger industrial undertakings which are being afforded facilities like concessional railway freights, etc. These are having a deleterious effect on the growth of village industries. I am afraid this process has not only to be stopped but in some cases at least, it has to be reversed. Let us understand it clearly that financial subsidies alone will not mean much for small-scale industries. I know that Government has been helping the bigger industries to the tune of crores of rupees, and to be able to do so it had to impose the burden of heavy taxation on the people. Take sugar, for example. To save sugar factories from the competition of foreign producers, Government has been subsidizing Indian sugar industry for a number of years at the cost of many crores. Similarly, steel industry in India has had to be subsidized heavily. I see no reason why Government should not extend similar help, on a same scale, to village industries, when millions of people benefit from them and get employment because of them. It is no argument to suggest that it is useless to manufacture an article on a small scale when the same article can be manufactured and offered at a cheaper price by bigger industries. Our hesitation to offer certain articles at a slightly higher price would virtually mean growing unemployment for millions and consequently forcing them to starve. We have, therefore, to choose between unemployment and starvation on the one hand and on the other a slightly higher cost of certain manufactured articles. No wise man, I am sure, would prefer large-scale unemployment to paying slightly higher cost.

I would, therefore, suggest that we must act courageously and draw a list of those fields which have to be reserved for village industries and in which these industries have not to contend

against either indigenous mill-made goods or foreign imports. This is the economics of village industries. This alone will suit our country, whatever may be the requirements of other countries. Let me hope that keeping in view the fact that village industries are the biggest source of employment, Government will do all that is possible to encourage them.

I am at one with Shri Vaikunthbhai that increase in production cannot be accepted as our sole ideal. Our real aim should be to make the people prosperous and to keep the maximum number of them employed. It is widely known that millions of our countrymen derive their sustenance from handicrafts and small-scale industries. To encourage these industries and to develop them is, therefore, one of our foremost duties. I admit that production can be increased more easily by installing heavy machinery, but if such increase in production is achieved at the cost of cottage industries, it will mean more harm than good to our people. This is now generally accepted as true, and the Government of India also appreciates this fact. We have, therefore, no reason to feel concerned on this score.

Now that we know that Government is pursuing a policy of encouraging village industries, let us address ourselves to the task of developing them from the economic and artistic point of view. I would, in this connection, advise you to study the growth of small-scale industries in other countries. In some of those countries, cottage industries have been improved and developed to such an extent that they are able to stand on their own feet in their own right. There may be certain industries in our country which can benefit from the supply of electricity. The day is not far off when our countryside will be electrified. As the various river valley projects, which are under execution at present, are completed, there will be no dearth of power in India. With the help of electricity we can certainly save time and labour and also perhaps improve the quality of the manufactured goods. We have only to be careful that the use of electricity does not reduce the level of employment and in the sphere of production quantity

does not take the place of quality. Art is one of the features of our handicrafts. Electricity should not be allowed to spoil it. With these precautions, we can certainly employ electricity for the improvement of cottage industries. Our aim should be to develop these industries to such an extent and to create such a wide demand for their products that these can flourish in course of time independently, so that they are able to dispense with the special concessions and facilities offered to them by Government. I hope you will agree with me that this should be the aim of the All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board.

I am very happy that all of you connected with the Khadi and Village Industries Board are working enthusiastically. Your annual report shows that the Board has made some headway in popularizing the products of village industries. You should draw inspiration from the fact that the work to which you are devoting yourself has its foundations in social justice, economic equality and self-sufficiency. The more you progress in this direction, the greater will be the employment you provide to the people, particularly in the countryside. Today when the problem of unemployment threatens to assume alarming proportions, nothing can be of greater advantage to the nation than an avenue which promises employment. This belief should be your sheet-anchor and you should be able to draw inspiration from Bapu's sacred memory. Although village industries have been a feature of Indian life since ages, the credit of raising them in the eyes of the people and getting for them a place in our national economy, goes to Mahatma Gandhi.

Nothing is farther from my mind than to suggest that sentiment can provide the basis for village industries to stand upon; but even so we need not be chary of accepting that many a good cause often benefits from sentiment and the enthusiasm it generates. In actual fact, however, we may be sure that the real basis of the development of village industries can be only economic.

I fervently hope that your efforts will bear fruit and that village industries will continue to progress in India.

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ASPECTS OF INDIAN AGRICULTURE

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*MANIFOLD USES OF TREES.

MR. CHIEF COMMISSIONER, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I am very pleased to learn that you have decided to have a botanical and geological garden in this city. It is a real need in this city and I am quite confident that when it would have come into existence it would be a sight which people of this place as also of other countries would appreciate and like.

We had started the practice of celebrating the Vana Mahotsava two years ago. I believe people all over the country have realised its significance. One reason for it is that erosion of land has been taking place on a big scale in our country as a result of which the land becomes unfit for production of food or any other thing. This happens because when there is heavy rain and there is no proper drainage to drain out the rain water it makes a way for itself by eroding land. It is not accurately known as to how many acres of land have thus been ruined as a result of erosion. It can be brought under cultivation only at great expense and labour. It is absolutely necessary for the Government to prevent this kind of evil. And one way that has been thought of to prevent this happening is to plant trees in such places where water causes erosion. Planting of trees prevents erosion and once trees have been planted it can be possible for us to direct the flow of water into proper channels. You must have also heard that due to the absence of trees there the Rajputana desert is advancing and encroaching upon fertile land. To prevent this the scientists are of the view that a belt of trees should be planted there and proposals are under consideration for planting of this belt. In ancient times in our country it used to be considered a meritorious work to plant trees. In the conditions of the present day it has become still more essential and it was for this reason that the celebration of Vana Mahotsava was started. I am glad that people have

*English translation of the speech made at New Delhi, while inaugurating third annual Vana Mahotsava, 1st July, 1952.

realised its significance and importance and work is being carried on in conformity with this spirit. It is indeed a matter of regret that many of the saplings planted have not survived and many of them have died. It is quite possible as you have said that it may be due to inexperience or negligence. I feel, therefore, that it is far more important to protect the trees planted than to plant new ones. The result of negligence in this respect is that the saplings planted die out and all the labour spent on planting them goes to waste. So before planting trees arrangements should be made for their being looked after properly. I would also suggest that trees should not be planted indiscriminately here, there and everywhere. I feel that a plan should be drawn up for this purpose. Even when a person plans a small garden consisting of about ten or twelve mango or other fruit trees, he first draws up a plan as to how and where each one is to be planted and also draws up a plan about the water channels necessary for irrigation and makes provision for such other matters. So when you are going to undertake this important work all over the country—a work the importance and significance of which is now generally realised and without which the country is suffering so greatly—it is absolutely necessary that you must draw up a plan for it. I would therefore like that when this work is being undertaken and particularly when it is being done by a Government, these matters should be taken into consideration and a well-thought-out plan should be drawn up and the trees planted should be so looked after that they can grow, blossom and fructify. It is only then that we would be able to realise our objectives. It is only recently that we have taken this work in hand and I believe there is considerable scope for expansion and improvement in it. I hope that you will keep these matters in view and plant trees and protect them in such a manner that they would survive and prove beneficial to the country.

*COW IN INDIAN ECONOMY.

India maintains about 150 million cattle which constitute nearly a quarter of the world's total bovine population. It is thus one of the most important countries of the world from the point of view of cattle. These animals are of great social and economic value to India which is predominantly an agricultural country, 86 per cent. of whose population live on income from the land. The bullock is the only motive power, available for operations like tillage, irrigation and carting of the land produce to the market. A large proportion of the human population is vegetarian to whom the only source of animal protein in their diets is milk and its products. It has been rightly said that the cow bears on her patient back the entire structure of Indian agriculture. In fact, cow, from times immemorial, has been the centre of our economic structure and it still maintains that position in our life.

The average efficiency of our cattle, however, is largely, limited by the economic and environmental factors. Cattle rearing centres round the small cultivator to the large majority of whom live-stock raising is an occupation subsidiary to crop production. The cultivator is also poor and resourceless. He lives on small fragmented holdings and the average number of animals possessed by him is not more than two or three. Grazing is poor except during monsoons and the available feeds cannot sustain more than a half of the existing population. Marketing facilities are extremely inadequate. There is an all round shortage of good bulls of known breeding quality. The breeder is thus deprived of all facilities and incentives to pay proper attention to his animals. The result is that the growth of Indian cattle is very slow and they take double the time for their maturity as compared to other countries. The interval between calvings is very long and wastage due to starvation and disease

*Speech broadcast on Gosamvardhan Day, New Delhi, 26th October, 1952.

is very high. Thus the cattle population, on the whole, is of a low order of efficiency.

In India, the production of milk as well as the consumption of milk and milk products per head of the human population are probably the lowest in the world. According to the latest estimates the *per capita* consumption of milk is worked out to be 5·3 oz. per day. This may be compared with the *per capita* consumption of milk in some foreign countries; Australia 44·4 oz., Canada 56·8 oz., Denmark 40·3 oz., Great Britain 40·7 oz. and the United States of America 35·6 oz.

It is, however, a heartening fact that at present low production of our cow is not due to any intrinsic inability on her part to produce but due to unfavourable environmental conditions. Such experiments and investigations as have already been conducted, have revealed that Indian cattle do possess undoubted potentialities for development and that they respond readily to better methods of breeding and feeding.

The question of the development of cattle in India on an organised basis has been considered from time to time. It has been found that the main reason why the efforts of Government as pursued now do not bear full fruit in the production of high class stock is due to the fact that the villager is not able to provide the conditions which Government are able to provide in their farms. The Key Village Scheme has, therefore, been sponsored recently. The immediate object of this scheme is to establish a net work of key villages in suitable localities throughout the country where all the existing undesirable bulls will be removed and replaced by bulls of known quality. No scrubs will be allowed to work in any of these villages. This will enable the breeding part of the work to proceed satisfactorily. Once a key village is established, it is proposed that the other measures of cattle improvement such as better feeding, management and control of diseases would be introduced step by step.

The above is only one aspect of the development of cattle. As is well-known, though Indian cattle do possess potentialities of a high order, all cattle are not so. There is a good proportion which is diseased and decrepit. The problem of cattle development in India as elsewhere, is the problem of the segregation of the good from the bad and the prevention of the undesirables from further reproduction. A scheme for the starting of Gosadans or Segregation Camps, for the maintenance of old and unproductive cattle in interior forest areas has, therefore, been launched. It is considered that the unproductive cattle would advantageously be maintained on grazings which are not at present being fully utilised and where they might even prove useful for fertilising and developing the land. All male animals in these camps would be castrated and no further propagation would be allowed. In each camp arrangement would be made for Charmalya Section, where the remains of the dead animals would be fully utilised.

In order to further co-ordinate all work connected with cattle development throughout the country, the Government of India have recently established the Central Council of Gosamvardhana. The functions of the Council include:—

- (a) To advise, co-ordinate and assist the State and Regional Gaushala Federations in matters relating to the development of Gaushalas and Pinjrapoles on proper lines.
- (b) To encourage the establishment of key village centres for the breeding of cattle on scientific lines and the starting of Gosadans for bovine cattle.
- (c) To take such measures as may be necessary to prevent the slaughter of useful and productive bovine cattle.
- (d) To take such other measures for Gosamvardhana as may be considered necessary from time to time.

In addition to the Government effort, there is a great deal of public enthusiasm in the country for the cow. It is estimated that there are about 3,000 Gaushalas and Pinjrapoles in India

with a population of over six lakhs heads of cattle which are being maintained at a cost of about rupees 7 crores per annum. In spite of many apparent drawbacks and handicaps from which these institutions are suffering, it has been noticed that, on the whole, these places, if organised on proper lines, could very well serve as useful centres for improvement of cattle and milk production and thus supplement the Government effort in the improvement of cattle to a great extent. Financial resources of most of these institutions are ample. They have, in addition, public sympathy. What is needed, therefore, is just to put them on right lines. The Central Council of Gosamvardhana has under consideration a number of schemes for the re-organisation of these institutions on proper lines.

Today is the Day of Gosamvardhana and Gopashtami is being celebrated all over the country. Such celebrations have a great significance. Our ancestors fully realised the intimate bearing of the welfare of the cow on the prosperity of man and by fixing one particular day for this purpose, they intended to concentrate attention on the importance of the cow in our national economy. Gopashtami reminds us, how much we owe to the cow and her progeny. Let us fully appreciate the significance of this day and not observe it only formally as we sometimes do.

We should make it a day of dedication to the service of the cow which is and has been not only a poem of pity, in the words of Mahatma Gandhi, but also a giver of the nectar of life and dispenser of plenty to us. That service should not be merely sentimental as it very often is. Sentiment has to be associated with intelligence and service to be effective and helpful has to be rendered in a way most suited to present-day conditions.

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*STATISTICS IN AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION.

I am happy to be present here today and address you on the occasion of the 8th Annual Meeting of the Indian Society of Agricultural Statistics. The record of work of the Society during the past eight years gives me great satisfaction and I should like to take this opportunity to congratulate the Society on its achievements. I should like to make special reference to two things. On the occasion of your annual meeting three years ago I drew your attention to one great lacuna in India's agricultural statistical system, namely, a census of agricultural holdings. I impressed upon you the need for conducting it at the earliest possible date. I also suggested that if we did not have the personnel and money to undertake the complete census, we should at least retabulate on a sample basis the data available in Patwaris' records and collect additional information on a sample of holdings in the country. I further urged that we should plan our census within the framework of the programme drawn by the F.A.O. I am glad that we are now in the midst of India's first agricultural census and I hope its results will be made speedily available to all concerned.

The second activity of the Society to which I should like to refer is the publication, during the year, of the book *Sampling Theory of Surveys with Applications* written by Dr. Sukhatme. The Society's work in promoting the use of sampling methods for collecting agricultural statistics is too well-known to need repetition. It is gratifying that sampling methods developed in India by workers associated with your society have not only come to be accepted as the normal methods of collecting agricultural statistics in our country but have had considerable influence on the methods practised in other countries as well.

*Inaugural speech at the Eighth Annual Meeting of the Indian Society of Agricultural Statistics, 26th November, 1954.

These methods were now being adopted under the F.A.O.'s programme in different countries, such as Ceylon, Burma and Indonesia in Asia, and Columbia in South America.

Today I want to place before you a somewhat different aspect of agricultural statistics. In the past, we have almost exclusively paid attention to the contribution of statistical science to the improvement of basic agricultural statistics, such as acreage, yields, livestock numbers, etc. Although basic, these statistics are not adequate to serve the purposes of policy makers in establishing national plans for increasing agricultural production. They also do not suffice for judging the progress of the plans. For formulating plans for increasing production, we require information on increase in yields expected under actual farming conditions from different agricultural improvement measures such as fertilizers, irrigation, improved varieties of seed and so on. In the absence of this information, we have to rely upon only the results obtained at experimental farms. It has to be remembered, however, that the number of experimental farms in the country is small, and further, the fertility of the soil and the management of experimental farms are superior to those in cultivators' fields. For these reasons it is necessary to verify the effects of different improvement measures under actual farming conditions by carrying out experiments on cultivators' fields. In order that such results should be truly representative of the farmers' conditions the trials cannot be confined to the lands of the progressive farmers but must be extended to all kinds of cultivators in their due proportion. Further, the experiments themselves must be simple enough to enable an ordinary cultivator to carry them out, they should serve as a visual demonstration and at the same time be in accordance with the principles of scientific experimentation.

The question arises as to how far it is feasible to conduct such experiments on cultivators' fields. After all, an average cultivator is a poor man working on a small, usually unfenced area of land and is pre-occupied with his daily routine. He is

hardly in a position to divert his limited resources to experiments which might disturb his normal operations on the field or in which there is a risk of incurring any loss. A correct psychological approach to win his confidence and gain his co-operation thus becomes the first step before initiating a successful experimental programme of this type. Statisticians must plan the work in such a manner that the cultivator is persuaded to take up these experiments and he should have no occasion to repent for having done so. I am glad to learn that during the last few years we have in India made commendable progress in planning experiments along these lines. I might refer to the extensive experiments of this kind undertaken in the Community Project areas for comparing the effect of different fertilizers on crop yields. Another example is that of the experimental programme for demonstrating the value of the Japanese method of cultivation of paddy as compared to the farmer's common practice in this country. The plan for this experiment, I am told, is extremely simple and is one which I as a farmer can readily appreciate. Thus in experiments with Japanese method of cultivation all that the farmer is expected to do is to divide his land into two approximately equal portions in one of which, selected at random, he tries the Japanese method of cultivation and in the other he grows paddy in accordance with the normal procedure. A continuous round of supervision is provided in ensuring that the field is cultivated, seeded, planted and harvested in accordance with the requirements of the two treatments. It is only at harvest time that the plots are harvested in the presence of the supervisor.

The demonstrational value to the cultivator of such experiments is evident. He can readily grasp for himself the difference in the results arising between one treatment and another. At harvest time he obtains a more direct evidence of how much more one treatment has yielded than the other. It is a matter of satisfaction that the experiments already carried out have proved successful and the Japanese method is being adopted on an extensive scale not only because the results achieved are demonstrable

but the method too is none too difficult and complicated. I visited a farm near Poona the other day and was pleased to see the rich harvest that was expected. I was told that in the Bombay State while two years ago only 6,000 acres were under the Japanese method of cultivation, this year they have no less than 200,000 acres.

There are bound to be a large number of practical difficulties in experimenting in the fields of cultivators. Firstly, some of the fields are likely to be inaccessible. Secondly, many of the cultivators may not be willing to co-operate. I have been assured, however, that these difficulties are not insurmountable, and that experience has in fact shown that after the initial phase, cultivators offer spontaneous co-operation in taking up the experiments. I notice that you are giving the problem the thought that it needs by organising in the programme of the Society's meeting a symposium on experiments on cultivators' fields. I feel sure you will thrash out the various difficulties in this symposium and give a solution acceptable to all. Information obtained by these methods is vital for planning extension of the improved measures among the cultivators. In fact, to my mind, such experiments constitute the only means of taking the results of research to the farmers' doors.

When on the basis of such experiments a development programme is put into operation, the task of assessing the progress made poses a further problem for the statisticians. To take a specific example, let us consider the programme for distribution of ammonium sulphate. In assessing additional production from this fertilizer, it is usual to multiply the total quantity of fertilizer distributed under the programme with the rate of increase in yield per ton of the fertilizer applied. The method is apparently not satisfactory for several reasons. Perhaps the fertilizer may have been applied in doses different from those recommended to the farmer. The rate of response expected may not hold good under the farmers' conditions and in any case cannot be constant in all seasons. The problem of assessing additional production thus involves experimentation to determine the results

actually secured by the farmer. The problem is somewhat similar to that I have referred to above, *viz.*, carrying out experiments in the cultivators' fields, but perhaps more complicated mainly owing to the necessity of finding comparable plots of land to those on which the farmer may have already applied the fertilizer. This problem also needs your careful consideration; because a continual appraisal of the results achieved in our development plans is essential for their progress on sound lines.

I must refer to another problem which is assuming urgency and which is of paramount importance in a Welfare State where land reforms on an extensive scale are in the process of being introduced. I would state the problem and it is possible that answers to questions I am raising are already available but not known to a man like me who has not made a special study of the subject or carried out agricultural operations as a farmer. In the last century economists held the views that the agricultural produce per acre was larger on small holdings of peasant proprietors than on large farms of big farmers. Those were the days when agriculture was not mechanised in any country, when chemical manures were not available and when irrigation on the scale now feasible was not possible. Today we have an ever-increasing measure of mechanisation not only in the newly-developed countries with vast uncultivated tracts and, comparatively speaking with a small population, but also in a country like India with its vast population and tiny holdings. Partial mechanisation is being introduced even by comparatively small cultivators. Co-operative farming has not made much progress and there is perhaps no collective farming at all in this country. But there are other countries where we have both of these on a large scale. I wonder if any study has been made to test the validity or otherwise of the old theory under the present conditions.

I think a study of this question is necessary in this country where there is a strong opinion held in very influential quarters that there should be a ceiling put on the size of holdings. There

is also the question as to whether this ceiling should apply only to new holdings that may be created as a result of cultivation of hitherto uncultivated land or also to existing holdings and whether the land held by a cultivator in excess of the ceiling should be taken away from him. I am concerned here only with the effect of any such measure on production and I suggest that a statistical study should be undertaken by the Society and the results actually being achieved in small peasant proprietors' holdings and large farms owned and cultivated by an individual, a limited liability company or a co-operative society or by the collective method in this country or in other countries so far available, should be studied. It is obvious that published data will not be as accurate as those obtained as a result of experiments. But in this case the latter are even more difficult to get than in the other cases mentioned above. But a comparative study statistically even of available data will be of very great importance and may indicate deeper investigation experimentally. As I have said, I am not well posted in such matters and may be that such studies have been made and their results are already available. Even then I would like them to be collected and collated and made easily available so that they may prove helpful in determining a question of great national importance to this country at this stage.

Such are the contributions which agricultural statisticians, as a layman would understand, can make to the planning of agricultural production. Although in India we are now more or less self-sufficient in food, it is essential that continued efforts should be made for improving the agricultural production in order to keep pace with the growing population. Moreover the problem of maintaining steady improvement in production is likely to present increasing difficulties in years to come. For these reasons it is of paramount importance that we should use all the methods that science has made available for increasing agricultural production. I have particular reason to emphasize this aspect at this meeting. We have amidst us today the staff and trainees of

the International Training Centre on Experimental Designs organised by the F.A.O. jointly with the Government of India. The trainees have come from 14 different countries, from Egypt at one end to Japan at the other. All these countries are in need of increasing their agricultural production. If we look at the statistics of agricultural production in different countries since the war, we notice that the world production as a whole has gone up, but those who were well-fed have more to eat and those who were hungry are perhaps hungrier. That, to my mind, demonstrates the need for determined effort in making realistic plans for increasing production by scientific methods. I am therefore happy that recognising the contribution of scientific agricultural experimentation to this end, the F.A.O. has established this training centre which, I understand, is the first of its type to be conducted in any part of the world. It is a matter of special gratification to us that India has been chosen as the first venue of this centre. I believe that in many parts of the world, as in India, there is considerable scope for improving the contribution of statistical methods and experimental techniques to the development of agriculture. I hope the trainees from other countries will exchange notes of their experience with members of the Society who have assembled here today and learn from one another about their problems, difficulties and achievements.

I wish your conference success and hope that your deliberations will advance the method of collecting agricultural statistics and prove fruitful in the larger interest of production.

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*THE GANGA CANAL.

I am very happy to be present here today to inaugurate the centenary celebrations of the Ganga Canal, which is probably the oldest of the existing modern canals in India. The bounties that this canal has conferred on the people of this area by effecting increase in production and by ushering in an era of cheap electric power and all-round prosperity, have been great indeed and they have gone a long way in strengthening the popular and traditional belief in the usefulness of rivers.

In this country rivers have always been assigned a place of great importance. They are looked upon as one of the sources of water for purposes of irrigation and as a possible means of transport. Modern science has added a few more to the old list of uses, the principal amongst them being the generation of electricity from waterfalls.

We have today in this country a net-work of canals and I am told that India has the second largest irrigated acreage in the world. That this remarkable system of canals should have been started in this country with the building of the Ganga Canal is a fact full of significance for our people. This holy river, round which is woven a large part of the fabric of Indian mythology and which up to this day dominates Indian literature and our social and religious customs, has a unique place in our history. Even in the hoary past the Ganga was looked upon as a source of purification and the giver of boons and bounties. If, therefore, it has actually proved to be a source of prosperity for a considerable part of the biggest State in the Indian Union, we might take it as a case of mythology showing the lamp to history. Howsoever accidental, this fact is bound to be of considerable interest for all of us.

*Inaugural speech at the Ganga Canal Centenary Celebrations at Hardwar, 16th December, 1954.



President inaugurating the centenary celebrations of the Ganga Canal Hardwar

It might be asked as to why it should be necessary to look back and celebrate an event like this. To raise this question is to falsify human nature and to deny to man what might well be for him a fount of inspiration. Apart from the fact that it is necessary to take stock of a situation in the interest of continued progress, we often build on what we have achieved. You will agree with me that the Ganga Canal is a major achievement, both from the point of view of technology and human happiness. Today when this great achievement has completed hundred years of its life, it cannot but stir us up and stimulate our interest and imagination.

Today's function gives us an opportunity of expressing our gratitude to those Engineers who built this project and whose persistent efforts have been responsible for its success. Let us remember today those foreigners, Col. Cautley and his associates, who accomplished this difficult task and whose perseverance gave us this canal, which became in course of time the nucleus of India's irrigation system, and also the Thomason Engineering College which has lately grown into an Engineering University. Free India acknowledges with a feeling of gratitude the valuable work done by those pioneers in the field of Technology and Engineering.

The report which the Chief Engineer has read out will also serve to give us an idea of the progress made in the expansion of irrigation facilities since India became independent. During the last seven years this State has progressed at a rate which will surprise even the worst pessimist, and which ought to serve as a stimulus to many other States to emulate its achievements. As he has pointed out the annual irrigation area from all Irrigation Works was 20 lac acres in 1900. It developed to 60.24 lac acres, maximum in any one year up to 1946. Irrigated area in 1953-54 went up to 81 lac acres as a result of the completion of many projects embracing gravity canals, tubewells, storage reservoirs and pumped canals. The objective of the First Five Year Plan is to raise this figure to 104 lac acres. I

would like to congratulate the State Government on this progress. I feel confident that the target fixed by the First Five Year Plan is well within reach.

I am glad that the Government of your State, as also the Union Government, while laying stress on bigger projects, has not overlooked the need and utility of sponsoring and executing smaller projects for providing irrigational facilities at the earliest opportunity. As in other fields of human activity, in the sphere of irrigation also there is no incompatibility between big and small projects. As a matter of fact these are supplementary to each other. The fact that you have been able to add over two million acres to the irrigated area in your State within the short period of seven years, shows that you have kept this important factor in view and have in actual fact given the same priority to smaller projects as to bigger ones.

May this canal and the river which feeds it bring greater prosperity to the people of this region so that they lead a happier and a contented life! May these centenary celebrations stimulate the Government and the people of your State to still greater activity in the fields of reconstruction and human welfare! This is the prayer that comes from my heart today.

I have great pleasure in inaugurating the Ganga Canal centenary celebrations and congratulating every one who may have contributed his or her mite in making this function such a magnificent success.

*IMPORTANCE OF FORESTS IN A NATION'S LIFE.

I feel it a great honour to inaugurate this memorable session of the World Forestry Congress, when for the first time it meets outside Europe in an eastern country. The importance of the occasion is heightened by the fact that it is combined with the first session of the World Tropical Silvicultural Congress. It is fitting that the first of what I hope may be a regular series of Tropical Silvicultural Congresses should be held in India, which has been working in this difficult field of forestry for close on a century. I am therefore happy that the offer of the Government of India to undertake responsibility for holding the Fourth World Forestry Congress was accepted by the Food and Agricultural Organisation. That Organisation has extended its full co-operation in the difficult task of organising the Congress, for which we are deeply grateful.

2. I believe we have here today as representative a gathering of world foresters and technicians connected with wood-based industries as has ever assembled in any place before. Delegates from fifty-one countries and representatives of a number of organisations such as the Food and Agriculture Organisation, UNESCO and I.L.O., are present at this inaugural session. It is a matter of gratification that even countries which are not members of the F.A.O. have considered the Congress important enough to send strong delegations to participate in its discussions. In the name of India, I extend to all the members of the Congress a most cordial welcome. Many of them have taken part in the excursions which were organised in the different parts of the country. I hope they have been able to see something of our forestry activities and of the art and culture of this ancient land.

*Inaugural speech at the Fourth World Forestry Congress, Dehra Dun, 11th December, 1954.

3. It is appropriate, I think, that the Congress meets at Dehra Dun which is universally recognised as the headquarters of Indian forestry. The Forest Research Institute in whose Convocation Hall we are assembled today is one of the oldest institutions of research and education in the country, dating back as it does to 1878 when it started as a modest school for training forest rangers. During the three quarters of a century of its existence, it has played a leading part in the development of Indian forestry. I believe its work is not unknown in international forestry circles. As one who was at one time closely associated with the work of the Institute in my capacity as Minister of Agriculture, I share the pride and satisfaction which the members of its staff feel in having the session of the Fourth World Forestry Congress on its premises.

4. I observe that the Congress has a comprehensive agenda before it and I note with satisfaction that Tropical Forestry figures prominently in it. The discussions will no doubt be of a technical nature, but if the recommendations which emerge from the discussions are to be fruitful, they must inevitably take note of administrative, budgetary and social considerations. Forestry is not an end in itself. As an aspect of land utilization, its value and significance are exactly in proportion to the sustained contribution it makes to human welfare, tangibly and directly through the produce that comes out of the forest and the numberless products that it may be proceed into, subtly and indirectly by protecting the soil and conditioning the climate, thereby sustaining the physical bases of life, by providing a refuge and home for wild life which but for the forest would perish and disappear from the earth, and not the least through the recreational and æsthetic benefits of forests. In India the forest is closely bound up with our religious and spiritual heritage. Whatever function the forest performs, the touchstone and measure of its value should be human satisfaction.



President delivering his inaugural address at the Fourth World
Forestry Conference Dehra Dun

5. Wood is essential for human life as fuel, as a versatile structural material, and as raw material of any products which are indispensable to modern life. Forests are efficient agents for soil conservation, for flood control and for stream flow maintenance. In principle, it should not be difficult for any country to work out the proportion that forests should occupy in its territory and the manner in which they should be distributed so that they may yield in full their productive and protective values. But hardly in any country would it be possible to secure a logically desirable and theoretically correct allocation of land to agriculture, pasture and forestry, because one is not planning on a clean slate so to say. In an ancient country like India, the pressure of the human and cattle population on the soil makes the problem of obtaining sufficient land under forest one of peculiar difficulty. An approach to the target fixed can often be made by afforesting waste lands by rehabilitation of derelict wood lands, and by encouraging village forestry. There are, however, limits to what can be done in these directions. Every country has to strike a balance between the competitive claims of agriculture, animal husbandry and forestry for use of the land for productive purposes and this balance must in the last resort be based on considerations of what is practically possible in a given set of conditions rather than on what may be theoretically desirable. In the older countries, it may happen that the area under forest *plus* the area available for afforestation is less than what is considered the desirable minimum.

6. It is precisely these conditions of shortage that provide the spur for intensive management and utilization of forests. They hold out a challenge to the forester to develop his forest so as to produce on a sustained basis the maximum possible yield, to transform it so as to increase its value as a productive unit and its efficiency as a protective agent, to prevent loss by fire, disease and maltreatment and to avoid waste in felling, extraction and storage. Likewise, they hold out a challenge to the research worker and the technician to devise methods and process for improving the utility, life and technical properties

of inferior woods, so that species which are now left to rot in the forests as worthless may be put to economic use and so help to meet the timber deficit.

7. We are fortunate in India in that some of the finest woods in the world grow in our forests. Teak, sandalwood, rosewood, padauk, gurjan are commodities of international commerce. But these species grow in tropical forests with a multitude of other species of much lower economic value and they present serious problems of regeneration and management. To what extent is it safe or wise to increase the proportion of species of high value by artificial means? What are the steps to be taken to create a market for the secondary species in a mixed tropical forest, which are in poor demand? These and a host of other questions connected with silviculture and management of tropical forests will no doubt engage the attention of the Congress. Its recommendations will be awaited with great interest.

8. The Government of India had declared its forest policy as long ago as 1894. This was probably the earliest formal statement of the broad principles that should govern the administration of forests ever made by any country. This policy worked well on the whole, but two world wars followed by the advent of independence had made it out of date. A revised statement of forest policy more in consonance with the altered status and conditions in the country was issued by the Government of India in 1952.

9. In forestry as in every field of national activity we in India are on the threshold of a stupendous effort of national reconstruction, under our first Five Year Plan. The first steps have necessarily to be slow, but already substantial progress has been made. The old princely States, which occupied a third of the country have been merged with the old provinces or integrated into new democratic States. In most of these new States the Forest Department occupies a position of importance and is

faced with difficult tasks of organisation and development. In several States, private forests have been resumed by the Government as a result of the abolition of zamindari and jagirdari. In States where private forests continue to exist, their management has been brought under a measure of control by the Forest Department. In a democratic State the successful pursuit of forestry, extending as it does so largely in time and space, is dependent on the goodwill of the people. Popular enthusiasm for tree planting and support for forest policy is being evoked by our annual 'Vana Mahotsava' and by a campaign of education and propaganda. Forestry has a great role to play in the agricultural and industrial regeneration of India. I am confident that the deliberations of this World Forestry Congress will point the way to fuller and more intensive development of the world's forests, especially of its tropical forests.

10. I wish the Congress God-speed and hope that the members will have a pleasant and profitable sojourn in Dehra-Dun.

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*APPLICATION OF RESEARCH TO AGRICULTURE.

I consider it a privilege to have been asked to open this Exhibition organised by the Indian Council of Agricultural Research in commemoration of its Silver Jubilee. Apart from the fact that I have been the Council's President for about two years in the past and therefore feel somewhat attached to it, its work and achievements are of the utmost importance on their own merit. India is primarily an agricultural country. Agriculture and allied callings provide occupation to about 70 per cent. of our people. The improvement of agriculture in the widest sense—the task with which your Council is charged—is, therefore, the only way of bringing joy and happiness to the masses of this country.

Since its establishment in 1929 as a result of the recommendation of the Royal Commission on Agriculture, the history and steady growth of the Indian Council of Agricultural Research epitomise the general improvement in Indian agriculture. Although India is one of the oldest nations devoted to farming and agriculture—and the knowledge and experience gained through centuries in actual practical agriculture in all kinds of soil, climate and season are even in these days of scientific development not to be despised—modern requirements call for improvement in old methods if cultivation of land has to be a profitable occupation and if it is to serve the needs of a growing population. Having as I do some knowledge of our villagers and cultivators and the conditions prevailing among them, I make bold to say that our practices and past experiences form a solid basis for application of scientific research and scientific methods and I have no doubt the scientists working under the auspices of the Indian Council of Agricultural Research have not hesitated to utilise such experience to the full in their

*Speech at the Silver Jubilee Exhibition of the Indian Council of Agricultural Research, New Delhi, 14th December, 1954.

search for improved methods, instruments and other requirements of our agriculture. The need for research and improvement is obvious not only to enable us to keep pace with our growing demand and to meet the competition with other countries on equal terms, but also—and indeed more so—to keep the wolf of hunger away from our door.

We have known the pinch of shortage of foodgrains in recent years. It may not have been due entirely to deficiencies in our agricultural system, but the broad fact of shortage had to be faced and grappled with by the nation. If we have tided over the crisis and cleared the way for achieving self-sufficiency, your Council could legitimately claim some credit for it. Its useful researches and the dissemination of their results for practical application by tillers of the soil, were an important factor in our war on the food front. On this occasion, I would also like to pay my tribute to the late Shri Rafi Ahmed Kidwai who by his administrative ability and indefatigable efforts carried the work of not only this Council but of all the wings of the Food and Agriculture Ministry to the happy consumption of self-sufficiency in respect of foodgrains.

Scientific research with a view to improving agriculture and increasing production is undoubtedly our primary need, but mere research, howsoever original or full of potential benefit it may be, cannot advance the cause of agriculture unless we can manage to take it to the farm of the cultivator. Assimilation by him of the results of researches, so that he might utilize them to advantage in his actual day-to-day work, is of the utmost importance. There is a general belief among some people that our agriculturists are extremely conservative and cannot easily be induced to change their habits and practices. I am sure your experiences will coincide with mine that such conservatism as exists among them is based on reason. We know that the Indian agriculturist has not hesitated to adopt new varieties of sugarcane and wheat, and the very recent experience regarding the Japanese method of paddy cultivation shows that all he needs is

to be convinced about the superiority of the new variety or method before he adopts it.

I am glad that realising this fact, your Council has organised an agricultural information service in order to communicate to the farmer as quickly as possible the various results of research. Efforts are being made, I understand, for maintaining close contact with village level workers. I know this is an uphill task in our country because a large majority of the cultivators are illiterate. In order to explain things to them a suitable medium has to be evolved as a substitute for the written word.

I shall next refer to agricultural education and the extension programme taken up by the Council. Both these activities are, in a way, allied to the dissemination of information necessary for effecting the desired improvement in agriculture. Nevertheless these two functions are of such fundamental importance that they can well be treated as separate items of the Council's work. I am glad it has actually done so and made some progress in giving agricultural bias to education in rural areas and also to popularise the extension programme. I take it that because of this bias elementary agriculture is now finding a place in the curriculum of schools in several States. As for the extension programme, its importance and magnitude have been recognised by Government, who have since set up a separate administration to tackle it, namely, the Community Projects Administration.

The Indian Council of Agricultural Research, which is thus working in four separate but closely knit wings, namely, research, extension, agricultural education and agricultural information, has done yeoman's service to Indian Agriculture. As Shri A. P. Jain has said there is hardly a branch of agriculture and animal husbandry which has not benefited from its work in the laboratory and outside it. It is my conviction that agriculture is that branch of human activity in this country which affects the largest number

of people and any improvement in it is bound to make for the joy and happiness of our masses. Since your Council deals with this subject of vital importance, it is clear that it shoulders a heavy responsibility. I am sure your many workers have fully realised this fact and feel a sense of pride in having been called upon to give their best in the service of a cause which has such vital bearing on the prosperity and well-being of the Nation.

This Exhibition, I am sure, will offer to the public the much-needed education on the importance of agriculture and animal husbandry in the lives of the Indian people. You have taken pains to explain the working of the Indian Council of Agricultural Research, its problems and the results so far achieved by it in simple language so that the lay visitor as much as the scientist may feel interested in the Exhibition. I hope arrangements will also be made to carry this Exhibition in some form to our rural areas and the various exhibits explained to the villagers. It should be of great practical value and besides being instructive should also prove a source of recreation to them.

Before declaring this Exhibition open, let me congratulate the Indian Council of Agricultural Research on its completing 25 years of its useful activity and service to the Nation. I fervently hope that it will continue to grow from strength to strength and come to be recognised not only as the spearhead of scientific and modern agriculture but also as the guide and friend of the agriculturist.

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SOCIAL WELFARE

*AMPLE SCOPE FOR SOCIAL WORK.

It is a matter of great gratification to me to be able to meet the representatives of so many social service organisations which are connected or affiliated with the organisation for which you have invited me. The very large number of these social service organisations spread all over the province, some of them of an international character, shows the widespread nature of your work and the various kinds of service which you are rendering to the community at large.

We in India today have any number of problems and there is no lack of work for anyone who is seriously minded and wishes to do some good work. The lack, if any, is of real men of service, real women of service, who will devote themselves entirely to the problems which now face us. We have the problem of poverty, the problem of removing illiteracy, the problem of raising the people in the social scale of life, and several such problems. We have so many problems that any number of organisations and workers can be absorbed in these various kinds of work which call for workers. I have often felt that that is no reason why there should be any kind of rivalry or jealousy between one organisation and another which unfortunately happens to be the case sometimes, because there is so much work and each man or woman can select the work best suited to his or her capacity or temperament and devote the entire energy that he or she possesses to the service of the people in that particular line. Take for example the work of giving relief to the people who are suffering from that fell disease, leprosy. I do not know how many lakhs of people are unfortunate enough to be afflicted by that disease. The disease by itself is bad enough. But the social stigma which attaches to the disease and which in a way segregates the poor sufferers from the rest of the society calls for service of workers who, while

*Address to Social Service Organisation at Raj Bhavan, Madras, 25th
February, 1953.

not fearing the disease and taking care to keep themselves immune from it, should devote themselves entirely to that service and give whatever relief they can. The work is not only of curing the disease but of rehabilitating and re-establishing them in society.

Then again take for example another disease—T.B.—from which so many of our people are suffering. There of course you require very expert service of doctors just as in the case of leprosy also you require the service of experts. But in all this, apart from the expert knowledge and the expert skill which a doctor will utilise for the service of these people, there is the social side of the work which requires to be done by people other than doctors. Then may I mention another, which is also a primary problem? There is unfortunately in this country a large number of poor women who on account of the difficulty of earning their livelihood are forced to take to evil ways. There is no work more important than saving such women from the life which they are compelled to lead on account of our social conditions and due to their poverty. In all these—and there are so many others which I could name—we require workers.

You have mentioned the case of the tribal people. We have got I think about 4 crores of them in this country and they are regarded as backward people as they are in some respects on account of their poverty. I do not consider them to be backward in the sense that they have no culture of their own. They have a culture of their own which we may not be able to understand and therefore may despise. But so far as amenities of life are concerned, most of them very backward and poor. We require a number of workers who will go and immerse themselves in their midst forgetting their own life outside, and try to serve them. I know there are people who will devote themselves to this kind of work, but I wish to warn all such workers not to go to them with an air of superiority or in a patronising spirit, but in a true spirit of service because it is the true spirit of service alone which will attract them and which will enable the worker to render the service which he wishes to render.

Therefore, in all these—and there are so many other fields which I could name—you require workers. I am very happy therefore to learn that you have a net-work of organisations spread all over the State and some of them you have mentioned, have joined in this reception to me. I look upon it as a very happy sign and I am very glad you have a co-ordinating agency, this Guild, which prevents duplication of work and waste of effort on account of that kind of duplication. It is very good work that you are doing and I wish to congratulate you on what you have been doing and wish that you will do even greater service in the future. Now that we have become free and our problems have become in a sense enlarged in their dimensions, we have the need for such organisations and therefore it is that wherever I go I welcome the existence of such organisations and I try to give what little advice I can and what little service I can render wherever I go. I wish you all success and thank you for the honour you have done me.

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*ALLEVIATING HUMAN SUFFERING.

YOUR HIGHNESS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I am grateful to the Rajpramukh and the Government of Patiala and East Punjab States Union, for having asked me to lay the foundation-stone of the recently started Government Medical College in Patiala. There are few things quite as pleasant as being associated with humanitarian activities like the opening of new hospitals and institutions for medical training. Among the various beneficent activities of a democratic Welfare State, perhaps first place has to be given to the alleviation of human suffering, prevention of disease and proper care of the sick. It is one of the foremost duties of a State to look after the health of its people. For the same reason, while planning for the prosperity of the nation and for increasing the production in various fields, the Planning Commission assigned in the Five Year Plan an important place to India's Health Services.

I am, therefore, happy that your State, which was so far without a Medical College of its own, has started this institution. The facts and figures given by the Rajpramukh in his speech provide ample justification, if at all it was necessary, for setting up a Medical College in PEPSU. Provision of adequate facilities for medical education and hospital training is an essential pre-requisite of improvement in Health Services. By opening this College, the Government of PEPSU can rightly hope to have taken the best step towards providing those facilities.

I am sorry, though not surprised, to know that 72 per cent. of the doctors in PEPSU are concentrated in urban areas. All our efforts to improve public health and provide better medical facilities in India will be set at nought unless we do something to remedy this situation. It is a pity that rural areas which are inhabited by a far bigger population than cities and towns,

*Speech made at the foundation-stone-laying ceremony of Government Medical College, Patiala, 21st December, 1953.



President laying the foundation-stone of the Government Medical College
at Patiala

should continue to be looked down upon by even the votaries of this noble profession. I say so because I cannot recount many callings in which business and human service go hand in hand so much as in the medical profession. From both of these points of view, I think, our villages today provide ample scope to doctors. Practitioners of medicine should themselves realize it. If they do so, I feel sure, they would not prefer the keen competition of the towns to the quiet life and good prospects in rural areas.

It is, however, a point which leaders of public opinion, other than medical men, should also ponder over. If our villages today are not as clean as some of the towns and if they lack in ordinary amenities of life, it is not the villager alone who can be called to account for it. Generally speaking, he is backward educationally and politically. The duty of making the rural areas more attractive so that professionally trained persons like doctors might like to settle there rests as much on the city-dweller as on the villager. Besides, whatever the reasons for the villages being unattractive, it is not fair that those who live in them should be further penalised through inadequacy of medical facilities. Let me hope that the Government of PEPSU will pay special attention to this aspect of the problem of public health.

Opening of new Medical Colleges is a necessary item in the programme of improvement of India's Health Services. While we welcome the opening of this college, I must say at the same time that I welcome progress of all the systems of medicine, indigenous as well as foreign, as for many years to come we know that these other systems will continue to give relief to the majority of our people, particularly the poorer section of the population. We must at the same time keep abreast of the latest developments and give facilities even to these other systems to do so, and I am inclined to think that it can be done with much less expense and some encouragement from the State. Health and Education being provincial subjects, I am glad to say that State Governments have been alive to the need of the public in the matter of medical education and hospital facilities.

The Medical College which you have opened is well planned in every respect and bids fair to be one of the first-rate institutions of its kind in course of time. I am glad that you have made provision for the admission of women students and provided for hostel and other facilities for them. The truth is that lady doctors are in still greater demand and shorter supply in this country than male doctors. Other features of the new College, like a 500-bed hospital to be attached to it, the construction of an underground tunnel to join the college with the hospital and the provision of residential quarters for staff and other workers near the College—are indeed commendable.

It has pleased me to hear that in the planning of this Medical College you have had full co-operation of the Punjab Government which has spared two of its trained officers to serve on its staff. In view of all these things, I think you have begun well, and for it the PEPSU Government deserves to be congratulated.

I wish the Government Medical College of Patiala a long and distinguished career of useful activity and public service.

*IMPORTANCE OF CHILD HEALTH.

I am thankful to Dr. Sushila Nayyar for having invited me to inaugurate this conference on Child Welfare. Welfare of human beings of all classes and all ages is indeed a laudable objective to strive for, but it is particularly so in case of children who have yet to grow and who have before them full lives to live. If children are well looked after and properly attended to, there will be an appreciable decline in the incidence of maladies, physical and mental, among the grown-ups. To that extent it should be more beneficial and less troublesome, in the long run, to take care of children while they are yet in the formative stage and their maladies in the process of taking root. I think it will be a fit illustration of a stitch in time saving nine.

While all children require special and sympathetic handling, those who for one reason or another are handicapped call for greater attention. A handicapped child cannot be expected to react favourably to his environments, and thus the formation of complexes in him begins. These complexes, in themselves a result of maladjustment, have an adverse effect on the whole future life of the child. If these have to be tackled effectively with any fair chance of success, it must be done at the childhood stage.

This important work, I am told, is being done in many foreign countries by Children's Aid Societies. Such societies exist not only in Canada, New Zealand and most of the European countries, but also in several countries of Asia. These societies are doing valuable work in rehabilitating handicapped and maladjusted children, bringing as many of them as possible to normal life, besides providing facilities for development of normal children through games, recreational activities, opening of nursery schools, etc.

I am glad this problem of child welfare has not been altogether neglected in India. All over the country children's orga-

*Inaugural speech at the All-India Child Health Conference, New Delhi, 5th February, 1954.

suitable steps will have to be taken to bring them in conformity with the Constitution.

In a vast country like ours, a network of social organizations would be necessary to create a Welfare State. Luckily, however, traditions of voluntary social service in India are as old as her history. Many of these voluntary organizations have been doing pioneering work over a number of years. One of the great pioneers in this field was the late Shri Gopal Krishna Gokhale. I recollect on this occasion his prophetic words uttered during my interview with him in 1910 when I was a student of Law. While persuading me to take to social service, he said that the country expected its promising youths to dedicate themselves to social service and that even if there was no glamour in it, ultimately "your countrymen are bound to appreciate your work". It is therefore a very happy idea to enlist the co-operation of such voluntary organizations for carrying on the work of social welfare. The voluntary effort in this sphere, which was isolated and sporadic, has now received public recognition for the first time, and I am glad to see that it has been dovetailed into a comprehensive national plan of social welfare and thus placed on a sound permanent footing. The Central Social Welfare Board is therefore to be congratulated on the prudent provision of grants-in-aid made by it to the existing social organizations in the country.

It is heartening to note that the Central Board recognized that it was not enough to extend financial aid to welfare organizations which are mostly localised in or around urban areas. Our rural areas do not receive the attention they deserve at the hands of social workers. No doubt, the Gandhian constructive workers have shown the way, and the Community Project and the National Extension Service Administration that followed, are making an organized effort for the first time on a national scale to contact the village folk. But the emphasis in the Community Projects and the National Extension Service Blocks has been mostly, and of course rightly, on more and better production, regional development in terms of roads and communications and a modest programme of social education

coupled with public health services. The Welfare Extension Project scheme of the Central Social Welfare Board, therefore, came not a day too soon to supplement the other efforts in the rural areas, and I am glad to see that a nexus has now been established between the urban and the rural areas.

The whole gamut of activity under the Five Year Plan can be roughly divided under two heads—economic and social. While the need for social services is greater, the wherewithal for the same is not available to the required extent. Again, while for implementing the economic programme, the services of a well-knit organization are available, the machinery for implementing the social programme can be built up only as the actual work progresses. But it is of the utmost importance to remember that, in a way, economic progress is only a means to progress in the direction of social welfare, which may be said to be the end of planning. The whole thing sounds like a paradox which, perhaps, it is. At first sight it seems that economic progress without solid achievement in the field of social welfare will ever remain bereft of its real content; on the other hand, we find the concept of social welfare less concrete than that of economic progress, and therefore, less easy to grasp and more difficult to achieve than the latter. A dispassionate view of the problem will, however, show that actually there is nothing wrong with our order of priorities. Economic progress being the means to achieve social progress of the community, which is the end, has to be given some preference. And that is exactly how we are proceeding about in the implementation of the Five Year Plan.

I would like to utter a word of caution. The idea of a Welfare State is good and is no doubt being pursued by the Government of India. But just as in the field of economics, more so in the field of welfare, it is necessary to pursue a mixed welfare policy. The wisdom of pursuing a mixed policy lies in knowing where to draw the line. Some welfare services touch and influence the most vital and intimate aspects of personal and family life. Here, there is a danger of the State encroaching upon and monopolising the entire range of the wide variety of welfare problems ranging from personal and

family problems to widespread socio-economic problems. The Governmental machinery, even if it be of a Welfare State, is, by virtue of its very constitution, impersonal, whereas the welfare services require a human touch which the voluntary social workers alone can bring to bear upon them. A highly specialised autonomous body like the Central Social Welfare Board can, therefore, demarcate the respective fields of operation for voluntary and State agencies.

I am glad to note that the Central Social Welfare Board has adopted a policy of decentralisation and has moved the State Governments to appoint Social Welfare Advisory Boards in the States. Some of these Boards have already been set up. This step should ensure the co-operation of regional talent and experience and provide an effective base for the Central Board to operate successfully in the various parts of the country. Though the Central and State Boards have started functioning rather late, I am sure that by the end of the First Five Year Plan period they would have established a wide network of co-ordinated welfare bodies in every district of the country and would have initiated a large number of welfare project schemes.

To members of the Central and States Social Welfare Boards and to all the workers, I would like to offer my felicitations. They have chosen for themselves a role which is unassuming and a work which has neither glamour nor brings easy fame. Yet these very seemingly negative attributes have, in my view, vested this work with uncommon importance both from the national and human points of view. This kind of constructive work is a reward in itself. When we have succeeded in making India a Welfare State, as I am sure we are determined to do, there is no doubt your efforts will be counted as a valuable contribution towards making the life of our future generations better and richer.

I wish your Conference all success.

*THE PROBLEM OF HOUSING.

I am thankful to the organizers of this International Exhibition on Low-Cost Housing for inviting me to inaugurate it. This exhibition, perhaps the first of its kind, focuses attention on one of the most pressing problems of today, the problem of housing. There is shortage of houses everywhere. Nearly all the countries of the world today are faced with the problem of constructing more and more houses to cope with the increasing demand. A reasonably comfortable house, providing shelter against the inclemencies of weather and affording room for necessary rest and leisure, is an elementary need of mankind. It is clear that if the present need is to be met to any reasonable extent, houses will have to be built on a huge scale. This is possible only if the cost of construction and of materials for building a house is brought down to a level which would be within the reach of a person of average means. It is, therefore, appropriate that this exhibition should be called an exhibition on low-cost housing.

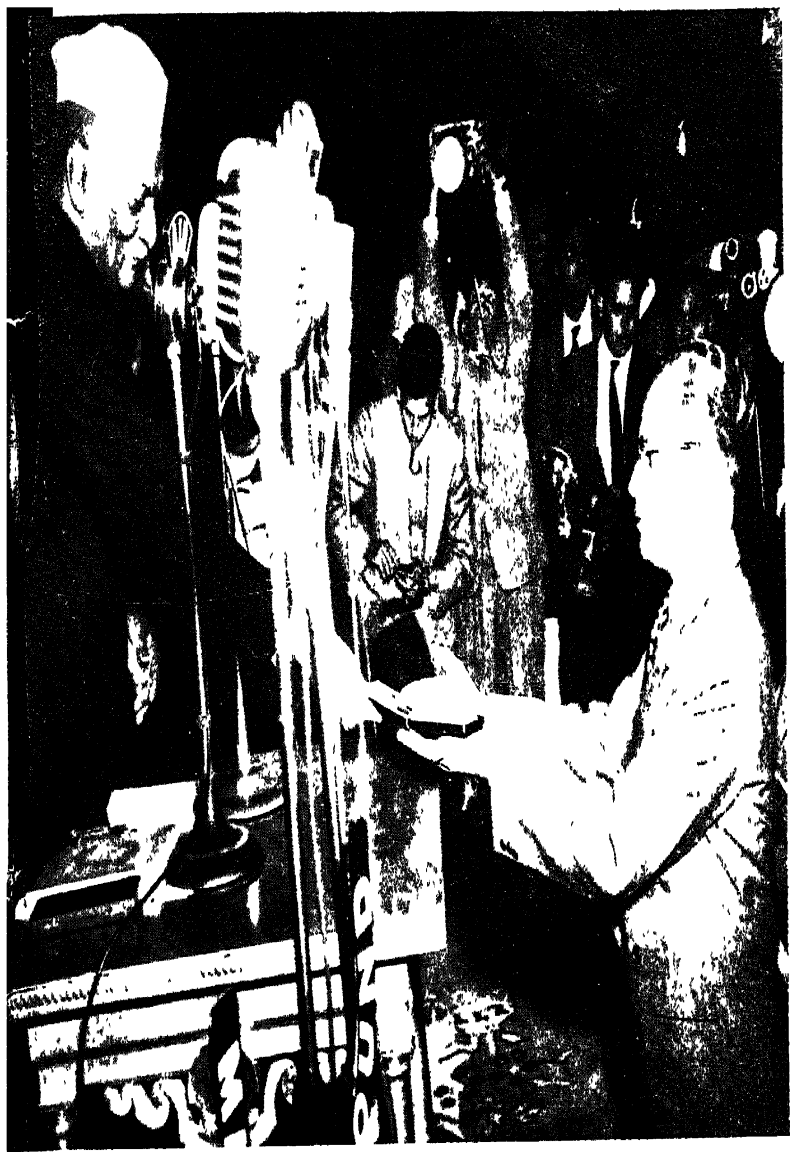
Generally speaking, housing sounds like an abstract idea although houses are made of such substantial material as brick and mortar! I believe one great contribution of this International Exhibition will be to bring the problem of housing into the region of the concrete. The many exhibits displayed here are its unmistakable proof. You will agree that when it comes to bringing together in a practical way the existing knowledge on house building and design, and to translating that knowledge into actual houses, this change in outlook would necessarily represent a great advance over the present position. This exhibition will provide a forum to professional men to exchange ideas and enable them to see the methods which have already passed the test or are still engaging the attention of planners, engineers and architects. To the layman who is in need of a house this exhibition is bound to provide a goodly choice to select from. This choice will be real in so far as every house

*Inaugurating the International Exhibition on low-cost housing at New Social Welfare Board, New Delhi, 11th November, 1954.

exhibited in this exhibition costs less than Rs. 5,000/-. Besides demonstrating the various types of houses built from different materials, this exhibition will also stimulate proper interest in housing—not in the abstract problem of housing as such which might be an alluring subject of discussion for academicians and economists, but in houses themselves, houses promising roofs on top and cosy shelter within. It is from this point of view that this exhibition is to be welcomed by all those interested in the welfare and comfort of man.

I particularly welcome the broad auspices under which this exhibition has been arranged. As the problem of housing is common to all countries, and human beings all over the world need houses to live in, it is only proper that such a venture should take the shape of an international forum for the common good of all. I am told, exhibits have been received from many foreign countries, including Burma, Ceylon, Australia, Finland, Germany, Austria, Indonesia, Israel, Singapore, Thailand, Sweden, Italy, Fiji Islands and the United Kingdom. By convening an international Seminar on housing under the auspices of the United Nations Technical Administration, this exhibition has not merely added to its status but greatly widened its scope. This Seminar, in which experienced architects and engineers from many countries are participating, will discuss such important subjects as improvement in building materials, construction methods and programmes for housing, etc. This will be followed by discussions by the Inter-Secretariat Working Party of the ECAFE which is meeting in Delhi this month. As a result of all these discussions and valuable exchange of ideas, let us hope it will be possible to pool the experiences of the participating countries and adopt models which would result in bringing cheap and comfortable houses within the reach of the common people.

As I have said, a house is one of man's elementary needs. Ever since the dawn of civilization or may be even before that, when man like beasts of prey lived in the open, the need of some kind of shelter was felt by him. There was a time when the improvised shelter proffered by bushes and trees satisfied his need. In places where trees did not grow, a subterranean hide-



President distributing awards at the inauguration of the International
Exhibition on low cost housing New Delhi

out or a cave or the shade of any projecting cliff answered his simple requirement. As time passed and man learnt to manipulate the twigs and branches of trees, he found leafy huts rendering better service to him. Gradually he began to thatch and plaster these huts with mud. And so man went on progressing, improving upon his craftsmanship and selecting better and better building material, till he found himself capable of raising such gigantic structures as the Pyramids of Egypt. Although throughout this long stretch of time, known to us as Historic Era, man has been familiar with the art of construction and has been responsible for raising structures of all kinds and sizes, the need of the common people did not receive the attention which it deserved. It is at once the duty and the privilege of us all, living in this democratic age, to think of housing and houses in terms of the needs of the common people. Therefore, I think that this exhibition adds a new chapter to our endeavours for housing the people properly. Here you will consider houses not only from the point of view of mere living space, but in respect of design and from the æsthetic point of view as well. As Bacon said: "Houses are built to live in more than to look at; therefore let use be preferred before uniformity, except where both may be had". I hope that you will combine utility with beauty.

Another thing in this exhibition which has specially attracted me is its Village Centre. In this Centre are exhibited houses specially useful for the Indian villagers. That a vast majority of India's population lives in villages is a fact which needs no emphasis. Unless, therefore, we base the principles on which we are building houses on the pattern of our village life, and the special requirements of the country people, our efforts in respect of providing adequate housing facilities will remain abortive. We shall have achieved a great deal if we succeeded in demonstrating how a village might be replanned and how the village-folk might live in houses constructed with locally available materials with the help of their own labour at an expenditure within their means. Let me hope efforts will be made to attract people from the neighbouring villages at least so that they might come and visit this exhibition.

Another important gain which I expect from this exhibition is that it would throw more light on the use of various building materials available in this country. Wisely enough, you have set apart a separate section dealing with building materials. With our limited resources in money and material, we have to go ahead with our plans to increase the national stock of housing. That is possible only if we devise ways and means of putting the easily available materials to the maximum use. Incidentally, that is also the best way of ensuring that the cost is kept as low as possible. The Forest Research Institute at Dehra Dun, and the Indian Institute of Technology at Kharagpur have been carrying on researches in this direction for some years past. The Indian Council of Scientific and Industrial Research has also recently opened for this purpose the Central Building Research Institute at Roorkee, where all these researches will now be co-ordinated and centralized and turned to practical use. All this points to the necessity of discovering cheaper building materials and evolving new building techniques so that the materials locally available are put to the best possible use, and the shortage of any particular material is not allowed to hamper our building programme. Besides, utilizing of locally available material not only saves cost of construction but also reduces the pressure on our transport system. When considering the utility of local materials, we should also bear in mind that all our old buildings and structures that have stood the strain of time and successfully resisted the inclemencies of weather in this country of varied and varying climatic conditions, were made with those materials and some of them at least are even now available.

People of this country, in some parts of which the shortage of housing is somewhat acute, will be looking forward with eagerness to the outcome of this exhibition and your deliberations. Let me hope as a result of your efforts house-building receives the much-needed incentive and more people are able to own, or at least plan, their own houses.

I wish this unique venture all success and have great pleasure in declaring the Exhibition open.

MISCELLANEOUS

*ASSAM HIGH COURT.

MR. GOVERNOR, MR. CHIEF JUSTICE, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I deem it a privilege to be here today to lay the foundation-stone of the building of the High Court of Assam. Like the University of Gauhati, which I had the pleasure of visiting this morning, this High Court is also, if I may say so, a boon conferred on Assam by the independence of India. The satisfactory progress that it has since made and the high status that it has acquired for itself during this short period of six years, provides sufficient justification for the promulgation of the Assam High Court Order in 1948, to which the Chief Justice has referred. Judged from any standard, the State of Assam deserved to have a High Court of its own. It is, therefore, very gratifying to see it established and making steady progress towards becoming the fountain-head of justice and the guardian of people's rights and liberties.

The Chief Justice has adverted to the neglect of Assam in pre-Independence days. It will certainly be true to say that though the Government of India Act of 1935 gave Assam the status of a full-fledged province and, like other provinces, allowed it to taste the fruit of provincial autonomy, yet, in actual practice, large parts of the State continued to remain a closed chapter to the Assam Ministry and the outside public, since they were declared as Excluded or Partially Excluded Areas. With the dawn of independence that process was reversed. It is realized that a large section of the population of Assam consists of Tribal people, deserving of a special treatment, and our Constitution has made a special provision for the administration of the Hill districts in Schedule Six to the Constitution. I am sure it will be agreed that these meticulous provisions are entirely in the interests of the Tribal people and the people of Assam and the country as a whole.

If one thought that way, it would be no exaggeration to say that the Government of India has a very special interest in the

*Speech made at the foundation-stone-laying of the building of the Assam High Court, Gauhati, 21st February, 1954.

welfare of the people of Assam, because as a result of the partition it has acquired a position of great strategic importance, surrounded on three sides by foreign States as it is. I have no doubt that the great caution which the drafters of our Constitution have taken with regard to the administration of the various areas at varying stages of development, comprising the State of Assam, will eventually bring its own reward. The people inhabiting Assam will be the principal beneficiaries of this reward, except in so far as a State's welfare means also the welfare of the Union. Having come only yesterday after a two-day visit to one of the 'autonomous' Hill districts, I would like to add that our efforts in the direction of uplifting the Tribal people may be said to have started bearing fruit.

You have referred, Mr. Chief Justice, to the distinctive part that Assam has played in the development of culture and tradition in ancient India. I shall not only endorse all that you have said but would also like to add that having for centuries remained an important limb of India, Assam has its full share of the greatness and glories of her hoary past. Assam undoubtedly made an important contribution in the making of India's personality and individuality that distinguished her as a country with few equals in the long history of the world. All the sacred names that you have mentioned, to which quite a few more could be added, indeed hearken to a glorious past. Let us think of that period to draw inspiration from it in our efforts to build up an equally great, if not greater, future.

As for Assam's natural beauty and the charms of its unsophisticated pastoral life, one has only to go round and hear the melodious music of the murmuring hill torrents and rivers and see the beauty of its yawning valleys and lush green dales. Over and above what Nature has given to this State, are its picturesque people, gay in spirits and never failing to respond to their artistic environments. Throughout in history the people of Assam have been known for their friendly traits and personal charms. Let me take this opportunity of paying my tribute to them today.

I have to thank you, Mr. Chief Justice, for the kind words you have been pleased to say about me in respect of the building up of our Constitution. If we were able to accomplish that monumental task, giving the best of consideration to the minutest detail, within less than three years, the credit goes to the Constituent Assembly of India which spared no pains in giving free India a Constitution which represents our lofty ideals and our traditions of secular democracy.

It has, therefore, given me great pleasure to see your High Court come into being, and now to accociate myself with it in a most memorable way by laying the foundation-stone of its building.

*ROLE OF HIGH COURTS IN DEMOCRACY.

It is a matter of deep satisfaction to me that you have given me the opportunity of meeting so many lawyers and judges on this occasion. It is not often that I get such opportunities of meeting lawyers and judges. There was a time when I used regularly to meet them, but if I were to revisit even those places which I used to frequent in those days, I am afraid, I shall find only a few familiar faces and a large number of other faces, other minds. The pleasure is therefore all the greater to me that you have enabled me to meet so many of you on this pleasant occasion.

You have rightly said that under the present Constitution of India, the Courts of Justice play a great part. In the very nature of things a Federal Constitution requires judges to play a great part not only in deciding disputes between individuals and individuals, between individuals and a State but also between a sovereign Legislature on one side and, it may be, an humble individual on the other. I am glad that our High Courts have been during the very short time that we have been working under this new Constitution, discharging their duties to the satisfaction of all and raising the moral standard of the people. I hope and trust that in future the value of the work of men of legal profession, men of judiciary and all men engaged in judicial work will be recognized even more than it is today.

It is a matter of concern to all of us that justice should remain suspended in the case of many litigants for years not because of lack of diligence on the part of the judges but for the sheer effect of too much work and I was painfully surprised to learn that even in this Court you have a large accumulation of work which has gone on mounting during the last 50 years or so. I do hope that something will be done and done soon not only to clear past arrears but also to see that in future there is no accumulation of work for other people to attend to. Our Home Minister has been very anxious and he has been telling

*Speech made at the time of opening the new extension wing of the Allahabad High Court, 1st February, 1954.



President opening a new wing of the Allahabad High Court

me every now and then that in many cases there is delay and there is delay also on account of certain procedural reasons which make it difficult for courts to dispose of their cases as quickly as they wish to. He has been working at it with great diligence and I am sure that within a very short time a new law will be introduced which will reduce the reasons for this delay by procedural changes.

But as I have said, it is not the only aspect of judges' work which has to be taken into consideration. We have now a different set of circumstances in which the judges and all those who are concerned with courts have to act. It seems to me that in a Welfare State the very nature of litigation will change and all of you who have been practising for a long time will be able to testify to the fact that the nature of litigation in this State is undergoing a change on account of the abolition of what is called the Zamindari system. If you turn over the pages of the law reports, you will find any number of cases dealing with the rights of the zamindars and landlords and inheritance of zamindaris. It seems to me that now that the system is abolished, the whole system of litigation relating to Zamindari and relating to inheritance of Zamindari and things of that sort will disappear.

At the same time we are going to have an addition to the work in another direction. You have also noticed that the petitions for writs under the Constitution now occupy a pretty large space in the courts and in the earlier stages when law is still not quite understood by the ordinary people and has not been definitely and authoritatively laid down by the courts, these petitions for writs may continue to occupy a large space for some time. But in course of time this will also diminish in importance as the law becomes more and more definitely settled by authoritative decisions of courts.

But another kind of litigation will arise and that may be when our industries grow and when the volume of our trade and commerce increases. We shall have then a large volume of what may be called 'commercial cases', a large volume of what may be

called 'cases dealing with labour and disputes between capital and labour'. Even as it is, although they are not directly under the High Courts, we have a large crop of cases which are disposed of by retired judges of High Courts, sitting as members of tribunals to deal with labour cases. So it seems to me that in spite of the fact that one kind of litigation is going to occupy less and less importance, other kinds of litigation are going to grow up and therefore there is no room for any apprehension on the part of the members of the Bar that their profession is going to suffer. It may be that they are not able to command the fat fees which they could get from big Zamindars, when they have to deal with the cases of labourers. But the amount of energy and the amount of diligence and the amount of devotion that these cases would require will not be less than those required by big litigation of Zamindars.

Therefore I say that while you are in this profession you have to develop this outlook also that after all this profession is a noble profession and if its earliest traditions are recalled and have to be followed, it is a profession in which payment of fees is not so important because, I believe, in England even today a barrister cannot sue for his fees a client who defaults or refuses to pay him. This is because the lawyers were supposed to be the officers of the court required to assist the judges to decide the cases and the money part of it came as a secondary thing. That was an important item but a thing of which the court practically took no notice but which grew all the same during all this long period. We have to go back to those times and prepare ourselves for that kind of work because even according to our own traditions, the Pandit who gave '*Vyavastha*', the Pandit who assisted the King to dispense justice, was not paid any fees for his assistance by the party although he may have been paid by the King. Whatever that may be, I have no doubt that under our present Constitution the importance of the legal profession and certainly of the judges will grow.

You are rightly proud of the traditions of your Court and if I may say so, it can be said without the fear of contradiction not only of this single High Court but all of our High Courts that

they have maintained the standard of justice, the standard of integrity and honesty and of fair play and disposing of justice without fear or favour, which can be said of the judges of any country and therefore it is that when we are free today we can look back not only to the lawyers that have gone, the judges that have gone, but also to those who have come down from their earlier days, that is, from the pre-independence days and who have been doing their utmost in this direction. We can look on their work with pride and pleasure. It was one of the great things that we got from the British when they left—a system of justice and jurisprudence, a system of courts of justice and a system of lawyers to assist these courts which we have been able to maintain and we have got in perfect working order. If we had attained our independence by a violent revolution, we do not know what would have happened. As it was, we were fortunate that we not only got a Government working regularly, working smoothly, but it was also a matter for congratulation that not a single court had to stop its work for a single day on account of transfer of power, on account of a tremendous change in our status. We have inherited that and it is therefore all the more our duty and responsibility to maintain that and if possible also to improve that. It was therefore a matter of great pleasure to me when I was invited to attend this function and as I have said, although I have long been away from courts and lawyers, I could not resist the temptation to be with you all, so that I might derive some satisfaction and feel as one of you once again in this life.

I thank you all for the honour you have done me. I thank specially the Chief Justice and the Advocate-General for the kind words they have spoken of me.

*MEETING PLACE OF DIFFERENT LINGUISTIC GROUPS.

I am very happy to be present here today for opening the new building of your University. All that you have said about this new University, which is only six years old, is commendable in many respects. Although you have not had adequate equipment and the necessary wherewithal in the beginning, these serious shortcomings did not daunt you. In right earnest you started the work.

One might feel sorry, but I am sure no one will feel surprised, to know that in its seventh year this University does not possess departments in subjects like Sanskrit and English on the side of Arts and Physics, Chemistry, Anthropology and Geology on the side of Science. I need not say much about the importance of the Sanskrit language which, besides having its own vast treasure house of knowledge, is verily the mother of the present-day Indian languages of the North. The study of English language and literature is also essential for a University student, for it is a language which many in our country have been cultivating for the last 200 years and which is recognized as a medium of international expression by virtue of its being the language of a number of countries. Equally important is the study of Chemistry and Physics which are in a way the basic sciences which go to form the foundations of all technical and scientific knowledge.

As for Anthropology and Geology, these two subjects have special significance for your State. Inhabited as your State is by a number of Tribal people speaking different tongues and having different customs and possibly belonging to different ethnic groups, no other State in India provides such favourable conditions and opportunities for the study of Anthropology as yours. In respect of Geology also I feel that its study should have special importance for the University of Gauhati, for the

*Speech made while opening the building of the University of Gauhati,
21st February, 1954.

benefit of not only Assam but the whole country. Assam is so rich in mineral wealth which is yet to be tapped. And so far as the production of oil goes, your State has its virtual monopoly in India.

I am glad you have not been discouraged by these shortcomings, but on the other hand you are endeavouring to create departments in these subjects as early as possible. I have not the least doubt that your own Government and the Government of India will, on their part, do all that is possible to enable you to do so. Only recently the Government has set up the Universities Grants Commission. I am sure your case for financial and technical help will receive its consideration.

I must congratulate you on maintaining high academic standards in your University. It has been said in certain quarters that for the last few years some of our Universities have relaxed their standards. I cannot vouchsafe how far it would be correct to say so, but if there is any truth in it, this trend has to be deplored and discouraged, because Universities must always look ahead and after imparting education must, of necessity, be upright, even strict, in the matter of conferring degrees, distinctions or honours. You have done the right thing in sticking to this ideal from the very beginning.

I am at one with you that in order to be fully useful to the people for whom a University caters, it ought to be a teaching body. I am glad that in your planning you have kept this point in view. I hope the building which you have been good enough to invite me to open today marks the beginning of your undertaking in that direction. Apart from imparting education, which is after all the real aim of a University, it will also help you to co-ordinate and centralize your academic activities.

What has particularly pleased me in the Vice-Chancellor's address is his reference to the fact that your University is likely to provide a great meeting place for the different racial and linguistic groups inhabiting Assam. My own view is that a University, besides being a seat of learning, should also be a centre of real cultural activity. For the mixing of people professing different faiths, speaking different tongues and having

different customs and traditions, no other place can be more suitable than a University. That is because a University is singularly free from any kind of bias and the din and turmoil of politics. It provides an ideal atmosphere for all these people to come close together and understand each other. I need hardly point out that you will be rendering a great service not only to your State but to the whole of India if you keep this objective before you. You will have rendered a great service to the nation if by sticking to your resolve you succeed in bringing all these groups together by providing them equal opportunities, thereby promoting mutual understanding and the good of all.

I am thankful to the Vice-Chancellor for having invited me to open this building and for giving me an opportunity to address you today. I wish your University a bright future and hope that it will not only succeed in tiding over the temporary difficulties but will, in course of time, count as one of India's great seats of learning and education.

I do not know in what words to thank you, Mr. Governor, for the kind words that you have spoken about me. I only wish I could deserve even a part of what you have said. I need hardly assure you that I shall not only carry the best of memories with me but also be watching the development of this University with great interest. I feel sure in course of time you will grow into an institution which will not only cater to the needs of young men hankering after knowledge but also serve as an inspiration for others. I wish you all success.

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*FUTURE OF GOLD MINING INDUSTRY.

SHRI M. A. SREENIVASAN, MR. TAYLOR, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

It has given great pleasure to me to be able to visit the gold mines this morning. I have wandered a great deal throughout the country and have visited this State on three previous occasions and seen many other places also. But the gold fields I have visited for the first time this morning. You can, therefore, easily understand how happy I have been to see so many things which I had not seen before. I had seen every kind of mine, some of which operate in the State from which I come. There I had seen any number of coal mines, copper mines, iron mines, mica mines, but I had not seen a gold mine because it does not exist elsewhere. So it was a matter of great pleasure to take this opportunity of coming here and seeing the working of the gold mines and meeting you all.

In this country Nature has endowed us with a great deal of wealth which is embedded in the bowels of the earth. We have not been able upto now to get a correct and exact picture of what there is and the Government is engaged in setting up some sort of an organisation which will investigate and estimate the mineral resources. Work in this line has been going on but it is intended to intensify it so that we may go ahead in this direction. It is, therefore, a matter for congratulation that you are doing this kind of work and have been able to strike new fields which you consider to be quite satisfactory from the point of view of work and profit.

You have no reason to apprehend that the Government will do anything which will stand in the way of the development of this important industry. We are anxious to develop all our resources. It takes a little time for all Governments to make up their minds and especially when they have not all the necessary knowledge and information to enable them to form a correct decision on points. I understand a Committee has been appointed which is going to look into all the aspects of this

*Reply to welcome address by the Board of Directors of the Kolar Gold Mining Companies, Kolar, 16th August, 1954.

question so far as these mines are concerned and I hope the recommendations of the Committee will be such as will help further progress and development of these industries. It is in the interest of the Government, it is in the interest of the workers, it is in the interest of the companies and above all, it is in the interest of the country at large that such an industry should not be allowed to suffer for lack of encouragement by the Government and certainly there is no reason to think that even if the Government do not come forward with their assistance, they will do anything to obstruct your work. I am hoping that all the experience which you have gained in the past so many years and the knowledge which has been acquired by the workers here will be utilised to the full by all concerned. As you have said, we have got only one other small gold mine in this country. While we have not got information about the existence of other such mines in the country, these two mines cannot be ignored. Therefore you must rest assured that the Government will do all that is necessary and will not do anything which may stand in the way of their development.

It has given me great pleasure to go round the town which has grown up in this place which, you said, at one time was nothing but barren rocks. I have seen at Jamshedpur and probably there are several other places like this where on account of development of modern industries, townships have grown up and this is one of them, where there were jungles before. I think some of you might have seen Jamshedpur. Jamshedpur was nothing but dense jungle about 45 years ago which was very largely inhabited by wild elephants and in the midst of that we have today the biggest city in the Province which has grown up during the last 40 years or so and we have got a big steel factory there which is the biggest in Asia. It is always the case that when one industry grows up in a particular place, other subsidiary industries grow up along with it. From the experience we have got at Jamshedpur, I can say that you can look forward to other subsidiary industries growing up, not to substitute the gold mining industry but to help and further make it progress. There are at Jamshedpur, I think, more men employed in the subsidiary industries than in the main industry

because whereas the main Iron & Steel Works is one factory which of course is a very big factory, there are large numbers of other industries round about the main factory and they all employ large numbers of workers. Our village folk, although simple and mostly uneducated, were able to pick up the work and I believe, that has been your experience here also and technical work has been done by ordinary men. A considerable proportion of labour population here, comes from the Madras Presidency and other local areas. That our ordinary people have taken to these modern industries gives us hope that our industries will prosper because the people are able to learn the art very quickly and when this great obstacle in the way of development is once overcome, organising and directing skill also you can get in this country and, if necessary, from outside the country, as you have done in this case.

We are anxious for the growth of all industries. I am sure you also realise that for the growth of our industries it is necessary that labour should be contented, workers should feel contented and should have no worries, cares and anxieties about themselves. If that is borne in mind and if you all give your attention to that, with all your experience and your skill you have no reason to fear that this industry would close down for want of support and that this place will once again be inhabited by lizards and jackals (laughter). I am sure, God willing, it will continue to prosper.

I thank you all for the kindness shown to me and for taking me round and showing all the places. I am particularly thankful to the people who have come out in their thousands on the road-side to greet me. I shall carry with me a sweet memory from here.

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*UPLIFTING STRAINS OF INDIAN MUSIC.

I am very happy to be present here today in connection with this Music Festival and to present awards to those who have been recognised as master of this art. It was my great privilege to inaugurate last year the Sangit Natak Akadami sponsored by Government of India. It gives me great pleasure to associate myself with the first Music Festival organized by the Akadami.

Music occupies an important place in our lives. We in India have inherited a rich tradition in music as also in other arts. Our forebears looked upon music as one of the means of reaching spiritual heights. Therefore, they developed it almost to perfection. Whatever be our views on the functions of music in this age, we can hardly deny the great potentiality of music and its harmonizing influence. The harmony which music creates has its effect on the atmosphere and also on those who listen and sing. It was this deep-seated faith in the potentialities of music which made the people of our country assign it a very important role in our social and cultural life. There is hardly an Indian festival or any social occasion or a ceremony or ritual in which music is not assigned a place. From time immemorial we have learnt to appreciate music and to count it among the foremost achievements of man.

With the passage of time our tastes have perhaps undergone a good deal of change, but our traditional and classical music has not undergone any fundamental or essential change. During the period of Muslim rule in India, classical music received not only patronage from kings and nobles but underwent some modifications also to suit the times, and the music of northern India of today has adopted forms and expressions which are largely derived from and inspired by those times. But whatever these modifications in form and expression may be, they are only on the surface. The core and soul of Indian

*Speech made on the occasion of presentation of awards to Musicians,
New Delhi, 31st March, 1954.



President giving away awards to musicians

music have remained classical and it is still a living force. It is hoped that even now it possesses the vitality and potentiality to adapt itself to changing times.

Classical music flourished in an exclusive atmosphere of the courts of Indian Rulers. While it is a fact that princely patronage kept the torch of music burning, it cannot be gainsaid that the general mass of Indian people has not remained in touch with it. Thus a gulf has come to exist between what is best in our tradition and the tastes of the people. If music in this country has to flourish, this obvious gulf between the most developed music and popular tastes must be bridged. If necessary, the classical forms of music should be adapted to present-day needs and the common man educated to appreciate what is good in it.

In Republican India the princes no longer occupy the place which was theirs formerly. The patronage of music and other arts must, therefore, pass to the people or their Government. I believe this was one of the purposes behind establishing the Sangit Natak Akadami set up through the efforts of the Union Ministry of Education. Within this short period of one year only reports have come about the establishment of branches of the Akadami and other similar institutions and it is my hope that in course of time branches of the Akadami or other similar organisations will have been established in all the States and thus sufficient encouragement given to music all over the country. In this democratic age it is necessary that every good cause should derive its strength and support from the people. I am sure the Akadami will endeavour to bring music out from the atmosphere of exclusiveness, making it possible for the common man to hear it and to react to it. Fundamentally sound and intrinsically uplifting as the strains of our traditional music are, I have no doubt that before long it will get the popular recognition necessary both for making it an integral part of our national life and also for saving our valuable heritage from languishing.

I wish the Sangit Natak Akadami success in its efforts to popularise music and congratulate all the musicians and artistes who have been recipients of special awards.

*ADVICE TO ANDHRA UNIVERSITY STUDENTS.

It is a matter of great pleasure to me to be able to meet you once again this afternoon. As you have rightly pointed out, it was about a year ago that I came to this University and addressed a few words to the students. That was not my first visit; that was in fact my second visit and this one is my third visit to the University. If the number of visits can be an indication of my interest in the University, you can take it that that interest subsists. But I believe there is a stronger reason for my feeling like that. Not only I personally, but the Government of India have always had the interest of this University at heart, and as the Vice-Chancellor has been good enough to point out, they have from time to time made funds available for several of the activities of the University. The Government of India, ever since it came under our present Prime Minister, has been specially interesting itself in the advancement of science, and seeing that your University has been taking such deep and abiding interest in scientific studies, it is no wonder that it has given you financial assistance whenever required.

Within the last six or seven years that the present Government has been in power in this country, scientific studies have grown by leaps and bounds. If you only take into consideration the number of scientific laboratories on a national scale which have been established in the country, you will find that even in the midst of our difficulties—financial or otherwise, we have not been neglecting science. On the other hand we have been doing our best for the advancement of science. We have already set up no less than 12 different National Laboratories in different parts of the country, some of them dealing with fundamental research and others with various aspects of our industrial policy and development. Apart from these, the Universities also have been giving more and more attention to scientific studies. In the modern age, whatever one might feel, one cannot escape science and what India can contribute to science will not only be

*Reply to welcome address presented by the Andhra University Students Union, Visakhapatnam, 17th March, 1954.

some addition to the stock of scientific knowledge that exists, but, if possible, to impart to science some spiritual significance.

As it is, science in the world is playing a very dubious part in human history. There is a story in the Puranas of Mahadeva and Bhasmasura. Bhasmasura was the name of a demon who underwent great penance and worshipped God for a very very long time. God was pleased and appeared in the form of Mahadeva before him and asked him to name anything he wanted and promised that it would be given, Bhasmasura, although he had acquired great power by penance, had not developed his spiritual side and he began to think what he could ask of God Mahadeva which he did not possess and which he would like to possess. He felt that he should have the consort of Mahadeva, than whom he could not think of a more beautiful personage. He however knew that he could not get her unless Mahadeva himself was destroyed. So he asked for this boon: 'Give me the power to burn anyone on whose head I place my hand'. This prayer was granted. Then he pursued Mahadeva so that he might place his hand on his head and thus destroy him and get his consort. Mahadeva fled from there. He went round and round chased by this demon. God then appeared before him in another form and said: "Do you want the consort of Shiva?" 'Yes', Bhasmasura replied. Then God said: "Well, I am the consort of Shiva. Do you want me?" The demon replied in the affirmative. God then said "Very well, you may have me, provided you can please me". "What is it that will please you", the demon asked. "Give me a dance", said God. Bhasmasura then began to dance and unwittingly placed one of his hands on his own head. Instantaneously he was reduced to ashes.

That was a mythological story, but I believe it has great significance. It is not enough to acquire power. One must also have the spiritual strength to utilise that power for good and not for evil purposes. This Asura had acquired that power, but he had not the capacity to use it properly, and in consequence he destroyed himself. Science today is being used in the same way that Bhasmasura did. It is, therefore, necessary that the world should spiritualise science and I am hoping that the day

will come when the great scientists of the world will themselves realise this and do what they can to achieve this end.

I have strayed a long way from what I had intended to say. As a matter of fact we are trying to develop science and as I mentioned earlier our contribution to science must be more in the nature of imparting a spiritual significance to it rather than making some addition to the knowledge that the world already possesses or that the world may possess, because, after all, we are far behind the other nations of the world in the development of scientific knowledge and scientific studies and it will take us time to come in line with them. But the other thing I have referred to does not require the same kind of preparation or material resources or the same kind of application. It is of a different type altogether and that I believe can be had even without those material resources which we lack. It is, therefore, my hope—and our past history, our past life no less than the very recent past under Mahatma Gandhi strengthens this hope—that we can be the spiritual teachers of the world if only we devoted ourselves to that task. I am not suggesting that young people should feel bloated with self-esteem. That can be acquired only in humility and anyone who aspires to rise spiritually has at first to become humble. He should not take pride in his strength, in his intelligence or in his capacity or anything else that he possesses, but he has to be humble.

Our universities are doing a great deal of work at the present moment. Unfortunately, in many places we see some signs of indiscipline also. I am glad your University has so far escaped such influences and I hope it will continue to be free from them because, after all, the work that young men have to do lies before them and there is really no necessity to hustle things. You will get your turn and when your time comes, you should do what you think best for the country. There are other people at the present moment who are in charge of our national affairs. People of my generation are now gradually passing away one after another. It is your good fortune that you have at the head of your administration one of our oldest colleagues, one of the most respected colleagues, Mr. Prakasam. You should take

a lesson from the life that he has led all these years and prepare yourselves for that kind of life of devotion to the country and of service to humanity.

Yours is a new State. Last year when I was here you were hoping that you would get the status of a State some day. Today it is an accomplished fact. May I in all humility utter a word of warning? I have followed what has been happening in this region with great interest and I have been taking interest in your State from the very beginning, long before it was actually created, and I have sometimes felt that you were not always putting first things first; you were not giving right priority to things as they should be given. The first thing that a new State has to do is to consolidate itself, to proceed with the work and to try to stand on its own feet. There may be, as there undoubtedly are, thousands of problems which have to be faced. It is not necessary that all those problems should be brought up at the very threshold of your career. It is not necessary that all those controversial matters should be raised just when you are beginning to stand on your feet.

I would suggest, and I hope I shall not be misunderstood, that you should give priority to things which deserve priority, and if you can devote yourselves to non-political and non-controversial politics for say 5 years within which I hope you will settle down, you will be doing a great service to this State. Although I am addressing mostly an audience of students, I imagine my words will reach perhaps a larger audience and I would in all earnestness ask them to set aside all controversial matters for the time being and set their hearts on making the Andhra State a successful State to begin with. Remember this is the first State which has been created since Independence. It is not only the people of Andhra, but people in the rest of the country who are watching your activities with interest. I hope you will not give them an opportunity of judging you harshly. I hope you will so conduct your affairs as not only to give cheer and hope to your own people, but also to give encouragement to other people who are at the present moment engaged in other work but many of whom are hoping like you

to have separate States of their own. The success of the Andhra State will play a great part in the formation of other States and you may be sure that unless you set aside all controversy for the time being and devote yourselves whole-heartedly to constructive work or the work of consolidation, you may find yourselves in difficulties later on.

There are ample natural resources in this State, and above all you are a fine people, and this I feel is the greatest asset of your State, and there is no reason why you should not advance forward and become one of the leading States in the whole country. That will happen only if you devote yourselves single-mindedly and with devotion to the work of consolidation.

I do not think I should take any more of your time. Whenever I have come to this State, even before it was created, I have received nothing but kindness and affection all round and I assure you that your interests will always be near my heart and whenever any opportunity arises, I shall take advantage of that and pay further visits to your State. I thank the Vice-Chancellor and the Students' Union for the very kind words they have spoken about me.

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*AN IMPORTANT RAIL LINK.

This is my first official visit to this part of the country, and I am glad that the occasion for it has been provided by the completion of one of the major railway constructions which our National Government have undertaken after Independence. Kandla Port and the Kandla-Gandhidham-Deesa Railway to connect the port with the main systems of Indian Railways are parts of an important development scheme planned for Cutch and its neighbourhood. I am sure that when all these projects come into effective operation, they will assist the industrial future of this part of the country and ensure the material prosperity of its people.

Ports are important gateways of commerce and their development brings to the areas they serve an accelerated pace of economic activity. The history of the remarkable industrial progress of the areas around Bombay and Calcutta indicates the character of the contribution which a port is expected to render to its hinterland region. The commerce that a port helps to promote provides not only gainful employment to thousands of people, but it also encourages and fosters various subsidiary industries. The essential condition behind such constructive development is the existence of economical and efficient transport facilities between the port and the areas between which traffic tends to flow. So far as Kandla is concerned, this condition will be met by the construction of the Kandla-Gandhidham-Deesa Rail Link. This is an important achievement indeed as Cutch is being connected for the first time by rail with the metre gauge railway system in the mainland. I have no doubt that Kandla can look forward to the same prospect of development as the older major ports have had.

The construction of this railway is no mean achievement. A length of 170 miles has been completed, in the face of special difficulties, within a period of less than three years from the commencement of the work. It has been constructed entirely

*On the occasion of the opening of the Kandla-Gandhidham-Deesa railway, at Gandhidham, 2nd October, 1952.

by Indian officers and men. It is a matter for gratification that our Railway Administration has during the last five years since the attainment of Independence succeeded not only in repairing and rehabilitating our railways which had suffered so extensively and so grievously during the war, but also in building the Assam Rail Link in the North-east and the Kandla-Gandhidham-Deesa Link in the West in spite of the tremendous difficulties which it has had to face, and I tender to it my most cordial congratulations on these great achievements.

I welcome the new schemes promoted in Cutch, particularly for the reason that it has not so far shared equally in the industrial and economic progress of the country, and many of its enterprising sons and daughters have found it necessary to utilise their talents elsewhere in the country. If our political independence is to have a real meaning, it must be translated into economic terms. There has to come about a general levelling up of economically less advanced parts of the country. The geographical situation and lack of proper communications have indeed contributed largely to the rather comparative isolation and backward conditions of Cutch. Another reason is to be found in the limited resources of Cutch itself. Parts of Cutch have occasionally been threatened by famine and draught, and want of communications has rendered it difficult to reach succour to the areas affected. The line will serve the vast hinterland of the new port extending as far as Kashmir, and including South Punjab, Rajasthan, and Delhi, and even Western U.P., which were previously served by Karachi. The area is reported to have large deposits of mineral wealth, which await proper exploitation to the immediate advantage of Cutch and the larger interests of the country. I am also interested to note that there may be possibilities of land reclamation in the area covered by the *Little Bann*, which is watered by the Banas River. If this comes about, it will help to extend agriculture in this area, and thus increase the production of food supplies of the country.

The plan of developing this part of India has given a fresh hope to the displaced persons who have now been resettled at

Gandhidham, the new township that has been designed and is being developed according to modern standards of Town planning. In Gandhidham we have established a large colony of educationally advanced people who were obliged to migrate from Sind after Partition. This community brings to Cutch its resources of business ability, experience and judgment; and thus will help to make a substantial contribution to the development of trade and industrial expansion in Cutch. I acknowledge with gratitude the work done by the Corporation and trust the contribution of the residents of Gandhidham to the general development of this whole region will be equally great.

The planning of Gandhidham itself has been remarkable. Unlike the older port towns which have grown rather haphazardly, depending on the expansion of the ports themselves, the planning of Gandhidham has proceeded along with that of the new Kandla Port. The initiative here was taken by the Sindhu Resettlement Corporation and, with expert technical assistance and Government participation, the township is expected to provide for the social and cultural as well as the business requirements of the prospective population. There is generous provision for the needs of future expansion. I trust the Land Development Board, which now controls the construction work, will so develop the township as to make it a model town.

After what the Minister for Railways and Transport has told you, there is little more for me to add. I may point out, however, that political integration has rendered it possible for the finances and resources of the entire country to be deployed towards the development of areas which have been comparatively backward so long. Cutch need no longer feel isolated or backward. Its economic progress will be centred largely round Gandhidham and the pulsation of its activity will be reflected in the traffic handled here. I am glad to see that the Railway Board have planned the railway and the facilities for the public on a scale worthy of the prospective importance of Gandhidham and the development of Cutch. Nothing can be more appropriate than our meeting here today, the birthday anniversary

of Gandhiji, for a function which completes an important stage in the development projects in Cutch. Gandhiji had given his blessings to the resettlement programme here, and it was at his instance that the land was granted for founding the township.

I am indeed glad to participate in so important a function.

I now have much pleasure in declaring the Gandhidham-Deesa Railway line open.



President laying the foundation stone of the building of New Delhi
G.P.O. and P & T Directorate

*POST AND TELEGRAPH OFFICES—THEIR PROGRESS AND UTILITY.

When I am asked to lay the foundation-stone of a building meant to house a public utility department like that of the Posts and Telegraphs, my immediate reaction is to accept such an invitation. On such occasions I feel happy, partly because they provide an opportunity of studying and familiarising myself with the systematic growth and development of a Government department over many past years, and partly because such an occasion is symbolic of the real progress of the department in question. The decisions to have adequate and the right type of office accommodation, and to make the necessary budgetary provision for the same, are necessarily important landmarks in the evolution and growth of a department.

When we think of the Posts and Telegraphs Department, a whole host of ideas and past associations rush up and jostle for expression. After the Indian Railways, it is the largest public utility service of the Government. In point of time the postal and telegraph service may be described as the first nationalised undertaking of the Government, because it was as long back as 1837 that Government assumed the sole right of conveyance of mail and made the establishment of post offices within the East India Company's territories necessary. Before that year, some kind of private postal services were also in vogue, which were all banned in 1837, excepting a few which ran under Government licence. As the Company's territories extended to cover the rest of the country, the whole of India came within the gamut of Government's postal service. The introduction of the Railway in 1853 put the conveyance of mail on a proper footing. In fact, it marked the end of an epoch in postal history of India and the beginning of another.

As I said, the Posts and Telegraphs Department is the second largest public utility service of the Government. Where

*Speech on the occasion of laying the foundation-stone of the building for the Post and Telegraph Directorate and the Central Post Office, New Delhi, 17th September, 1954.

the common man is concerned, no other Governmental activity functions as intimately and as extensively as this Department. The punctual postman going his rounds all round the year, the long red-coloured letter box standing guard at a familiar corner in a village, the modest hut which serves as a post office—all these symbols have a peculiar meaning for everyone in an Indian village. From the earliest times, postal service has been the most obvious Governmental activity in the remotest parts of India. The Government itself looked upon post offices, scattered all over the land, as something more than mere channels of communication. For many a useful activity which, it was desired should permeate the far-flung rural areas, post offices have generally been considered as the most suitable medium of operation. It was, I believe, for this reason that distribution of quinine was entrusted to post offices in the malaria-ridden countryside. The Postal Department can, therefore, claim to have a hand in winning the battle against malaria or at least in the fight against that disease.

The functions of the Posts and Telegraphs Department are many and varied. Apart from its primary responsibility of providing channels for communications by road, rail, air and steamer or by the installation of telegraph offices and telephone exchanges, it functions as the agent of the Government to help the public invest their money in National Savings Certificates; it offers facilities for life insurance, though on a limited scale; it provides banking facilities and thus encourages a sense of thrift among the public.

Although conveyance of post was undertaken as a Government monopoly in 1837, it was in 1925 that the Department was commercialised. Till 1947, the year of our Independence, its expansion and progress had been slow, though quite steady. I am glad to say that since Independence the Department has taken long strides in its determination to provide each village with proper communication facilities. Over 25,000 post offices have been opened since August, 1947, as compared with 20,240 which were already in existence in undivided India. This increase in the number of post offices, stupendous as it is,

gives, I believe, an idea of the progress that the Posts and Telegraphs Department has made during the last seven years. At present every village with a population of two thousand or more has been provided with a post office. No wonder that the number of letter boxes has also gone up by about 130 per cent. Apart from this quantitative expansion in all directions, a good deal of progress has also been made in reducing the time-lag and otherwise improving the general service for the benefit of the public.

Whenever an occasion for a general review of national progress during the years of Freedom has arisen, I have heard our tele-communication services being mentioned prominently. I would like to congratulate the Ministry of Communications and P. & T. Directorate for the amount of goodwill and appreciation they have earned for themselves. The "All Up" Air mail scheme, constituting as it does a unique landmark in the history of mail communications in India; the institution of mobile post offices in urban areas; the novel 'Own Your Phone' scheme, and the contribution that the Posts and Telegraphs Department has made in popularising the national language—these are some of the things which have been greatly appreciated by the public.

Expansion of the postal and tele-communication services in the rural areas is the main item in the Five Year Plan, so far as your Department is concerned. I am glad to say that you have, wherever necessary, modified your policy for implementing the Plan. Post offices are being opened in headquarters of administrative units. Tehsils, Talukas or Thanas, if the anticipated loss does not exceed Rs. 750/- per annum per post office. In the backward areas and the Community Project Centres, the limit of permissible loss has been raised still higher. That is as it should be. Let us not forget that people in the rural areas have long been without adequate amenities of this kind. They are the backbone of the Indian nation and no reform or progressive measure which leaves them untouched can be described as national. Every effort has, therefore, to be made to provide our rural areas with proper communication facilities even if, for the present, it means more investment or liberalisation of conditions which govern the working of your Department.

It is about a year since the Posts and Telegraphs Department celebrated the centenary of telegraphs in India. In a couple of weeks' time, the Department will be celebrating the centenary of the postage stamp. For this occasion an International Exhibition has been arranged in which good many countries of the world will be participating. I take it that it is a fitting tribute to the place that India now occupies in the field of postal and telegraph communications.

The Posts and Telegraphs Directorate, which is at present spread out in different buildings, will be accommodated in the proposed building, which would be sufficiently big to house its various offices. I am sure this will further enhance the efficiency of the Directorate. The location of your main office and the New Delhi G.P.O. in the vicinity of the Central Secretariat should also mean an additional advantage to you as well as to the public.

Before closing, I wish to add that while there is much of which the Department can legitimately feel proud and while it has a great achievement to its credit, you cannot afford to rest on your oars. As your work has expanded, more demands are being made on your activity and efficiency. I hope you are not unconscious of the criticism which is sometimes levelled against your Department. You should see that the standard of efficiency and integrity is not reduced but enhanced by the expansion. Your Department will have served the country well if it can maintain and enhance its own reputation of the past.

Once again I would like to express my appreciation of the work of the Posts and Telegraphs Department. Let me hope every additional amenity which the Department gets, will mean more efficient working and greater facilities for the public to whose needs it caters. I wish your Department a still more fruitful career of public service in the interest of the people and the interest of national unity, in the fostering and maintenance of which communications always play an important role.

*IMPORTANCE OF AUDIT IN DEMOCRATIC SET-UP.

I am very happy indeed to be able to come here to lay the foundation-stone of this Office in response to the kind invitation of Shri Narahari Rao, Comptroller and Auditor-General of India. So far this important Office was not housed in any separate building and it was looked upon generally as another wing of the Accountant-General's Office. According to our Constitution the Office of the Comptroller and Auditor-General has an independent status and some special powers have been vested in it. Although for purposes of affiliation this Office falls under the Ministry of Finance, yet like the Supreme Court and the Union Public Service Commission it is a statutory body and as such has a status of its own. Our Constitution has guaranteed the independence of the Judiciary, with the Supreme Court at the head, for preserving and protecting the rights not only of individuals against individuals but also of individuals against the State. The Judiciary has the power even to declare a law invalid when the Legislature has exceeded its powers. Similarly the Office of the Comptroller and Auditor-General with his widespread organisation all over the country has the power to see that the moneys granted by the Legislature to the Executive authorities are spent for the purposes meant and that the accounts are maintained in a proper and efficient manner. He has the power to call to account any officer, however highly placed, so far as the State moneys are concerned.

I consider it, therefore, not only appropriate but necessary that the Office of the Comptroller and Auditor-General should be provided with all the necessary facilities to enable it to function in a way calculated to ensure the discharge of the duties allocated to it in the best possible manner. In a country like ours where huge amounts are allocated to different Ministries and to the various offices attached to them, it is of the highest importance that a proper check is maintained on expenditure

*Speech on the occasion of the laying of the foundation-stone of the Office of the Comptroller and Auditor-General of India, 21st July 1954.

and his office. Although we have had the advantage of a long established department with its method of work and tradition based on the British model, it was no easy task to adjust the existing machinery to the demands of the new set-up. That was particularly difficult in the case of the States created as a result of the integration of what used to be princely states, many of which had no such organisations. I am glad that not only has that problem been tackled, but the first incumbent of this high office has been able to create an atmosphere and tradition of independence, which is so necessary for the safeguarding of the interests of the tax-payer. I have no hesitation in saying that the retiring Comptroller and Auditor-General of India has earned the respect of the Indian Parliament by his impartial and independent observations as brought out in his annual reports. Free India has great value for these qualities, which I hope, will be emulated by all others, high or low, in the service of the State.

Once again I thank Shri Narahari Rao for asking me to lay the foundation-stone of the building of the Comptroller and Auditor-General's office.

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*INAUGURATION OF PUNJAB'S NEW CAPITAL.

I consider it a great pleasure and a privilege to inaugurate this new capital town of the Punjab. It is a pleasure because the new capital symbolises the urge, the indomitable desire of the people of this State to come into their own by getting over the temporary set-back which the partition gave them. It is a privilege because an opportunity of inaugurating the capital city of a State like the Punjab comes only rarely.

I congratulate the Government of the Punjab, specially the engineers and the administrators whose doggedness is mainly responsible for turning a dream into a reality. I remember how, not long ago, the capital project was looked upon by a section of the people as a mirage, a mere dream and a luxury having little chance of materialising. It was contended by spokesmen of the Punjab Government that the new capital would be the largest single step towards the rehabilitation of displaced persons. Thanks to your perseverance, the sympathy and monetary assistance extended by the Centre in an unbounded measure and, above all, thanks to the unstinted support you were able to enlist of our Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, all the hurdles were soon crossed and doubts dispelled.

It is indeed a tribute to the zeal and ability of the Engineers and Architects that within a little more than two years of the start of the work, the Government have found the rising city suitable enough to be occupied and used as a capital.

As one goes round and sees this new township one cannot help feeling that it is going to be one of the most modern towns in this country. Apart from the many advantages it will bestow upon the people of this State, this city has also provided ample scope for new experiments in town-planning and architecture. In this new town, I am told, the needs of the people have been harmonised with architectural requirements and considerations

*On the occasion of the inauguration of Chandigarh, 7th October, 1953.

of utility and bare comforts of the residents have been collated with the requirements of æsthetics and modern designing. Chandigarh can be justly proud of having the best living quarters for peons and duftaries in India. Each residential unit for this class of employees here contains two rooms, a small verandah, a court-yard, a kitchen, a bath-room and a pull-the-plug lavatory. Three water taps and four electric points have also been provided in each unit. Similarly in other spheres of life the planning of Chandigarh promises to be unique in many respects.

As the Biblical saying goes, sometimes good cometh out of evil. If I may say so, the coming into being of Chandigarh is going to compensate the people of the State for their recent sufferings and inconveniences. Planned and designed as the capital is and situated as it is at the foot of the hills, I am certain, in course of time, it will become a prize possession for the people of this State and, possibly, the envy of other States. When new rail and road links, now in the making, are completed, Chandigarh will almost become the most central place in the Punjab. It is going to have a steadying influence on the administration and economic development of the State.

With the move of the Government to the new capital, Chandigarh enters a new phase. You have been privileged to see a new town rise and grow during your life-time. You will now have an opportunity to build up its civic traditions, because a town is not merely a collection of buildings, howsoever well-designed; it is what its citizens make it.

Let me hope that Chandigarh will in every sense be an expression of the urge to forge ahead and the creative genius of the sturdy people of this State. To the extent that the new town of Chandigarh will be free from old traditions and encumbrances of any kind, I hope it will blaze a trail not only for those who come and stay here, but also for others. I also hope its residents would develop the best traditions of citizenship.

I have great pleasure in inaugurating this new town and wishing it, the State Government and the people happiness and prosperity.

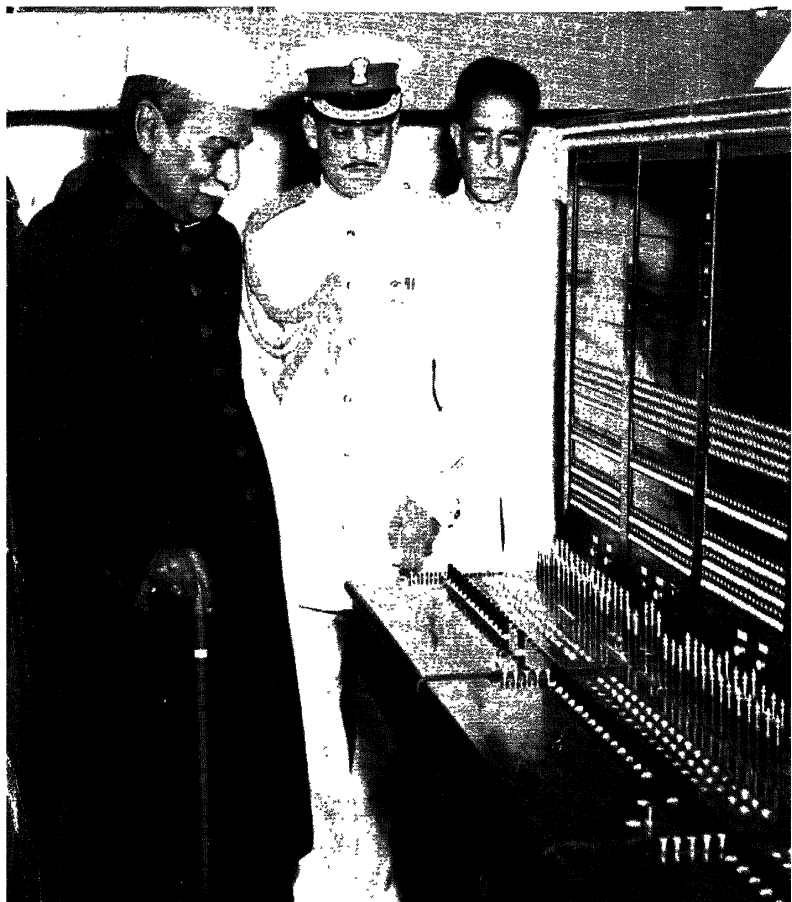
*HUNDRED YEARS OF INDIAN P. & T.

We are lucky in having this Centenary of the Posts and Telegraphs soon after having celebrated the Centenary of the Indian Railways. It is on occasions like this that one gets an opportunity of looking back and assessing the past achievement and also planning for the future. It is indeed gratifying that these important occasions have synchronised with our Five-Year Plan. You will agree that correct stock-taking is the essential pre-requisite of sound planning; and I do not think anything could make for sounder planning in the field of Posts and Telegraphs than the celebration of this Centenary and organising this exhibition.

Generally we are accustomed to think of India, in the context of scientific progress and amenities of modern life, as a young country. The fact that we became masters of our affairs at home only six years ago tends to confirm this impression. In reality, this impression is an illusion to allay which it will be sufficient to know the facts about the growth and development of tele-communications in India.

One hundred years ago telegraph lines began to radiate from Calcutta which was then India's capital. Actually, beginnings had been made in this direction 14 years earlier, in 1839, when an Englishman, Dr. O'Shaughnessy completed on his own and without official assistance about 21 miles of telegraphic line proceeding from Calcutta in the direction of Diamond Harbour. It was, however, in 1851, that the first telegraph line to carry traffic was constructed between Calcutta and Diamond Harbour. The next two years may be said to be a period of experimentation. Towards the end of 1853, the experimental stage ended and country-wide expansion of telegraphic traffic was planned. The first line to be taken in hand was between Calcutta and Agra in November, 1853. Since then our telegraph services have gone on expanding in all directions.

*Inaugural speech at the Posts and Telegraphs Centenary Exhibition, New Delhi, 1st November, 1953.



President at the P & T Centenary Exhibition

*ENGINEERS' ROLE IN MAKING INDIA PROSPEROUS.

I am very happy to be here this evening for opening the new building of the Headquarters of the Central India Centre of the Institute of Engineers. It is indeed remarkable that this building is the result of your co-operative effort extending over three years. Instead of waiting for some big donor or Government to make the necessary funds available, you have wisely pooled your own resources for raising this magnificent structure. I must congratulate you on setting this good example.

Engineers have always been considered an important wing of society, responsible as they are for all constructional activity. But now we have outlived the age of mere construction and have launched upon an era of reconstruction. It is a much wider concept and calls for everything to be done on a massive scale. In the modern age which has set its heart on alleviating human suffering and bringing the bare needs of life within the reach of the lowliest of citizens, Engineers have a great part to play. Engineers and the Science of Engineering provide the very foundation for modern planning. It is to their efforts and to their perseverance that the common man looks, with eagerness, to see endless stretches of barren land turn into green fields and deserts bloom into orchards. You can all, therefore, look to your calling with pride, and I believe it is a legitimate pride.

In the Five-Year Plan of our own country, Engineers have been assigned a task whose great importance is comparable only with the heavy responsibility which it necessarily involves. In the various Hydel schemes and the huge River Valley Projects, it is the Engineers who have really to execute the blue-prints, and, if I may say so, turn a dream into a reality. Although for the success of this Plan every Indian, howsoever humbly

*Speech made while opening the new building of the Headquarters of the Central India Centre of the Institute of Engineers, New Delhi, 28th November, 1953.



After opening the Headquarters of the Central India Institute of Engineers
New Delhi

for all-round development. The demand for Engineers who have specialised in the various departments is growing. Not only are our Railways in a continuous process of expansion, our industries are growing at a good pace. The housing problem is receiving greater importance every day. With housing and establishing of new towns and townships and the need for improving the sanitation of the cities and the countryside, the need of Sanitary Engineers is increasing. Similarly, the large plans for generation of electricity, both by thermal plants and hydel works, require the services of greater and greater number of technically trained personnel among whom Engineers are of utmost importance. In fact, there is no department of constructive effort which can do without the help of able and efficient Engineers possessing integrity and drive.

The politician or the administrator who plans remains generally in the background. It is the Engineer whom people mostly see at work. I have no doubt in my mind that far from feeling embarrassed or over-awed, you will feel encouraged by this fact and will continue to put in your best so that poverty is banished from this country and India once again becomes a land of plenty.

I wish your Institution ever-increasing success, and have great pleasure in declaring open the new building of the Headquarters of its Central India Centre which is going to be located at Delhi.



**President speaking while proposing a Toast in honour of Marshal Tito
at the Banquet held in Rashtrapati Bhavan**

*ON PEACE AND UNDERSTANDING AMONG NATIONS.

MR. PRESIDENT, YOUR EXCELLENCIES, LADIES & GENTLEMEN,

It is with great pleasure that I rise to welcome here in our midst His Excellency Marshal Tito, President of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia. We welcome him as the Chief of a State in Europe which has played an important and significant part during the last war and in subsequent years. We welcome him also as a great leader of men whose heroic exploits during the war for the liberation of their country evoked widespread admiration.

Even though this is your first visit to India, your name is a familiar one in this country which has admired the courage and determination which the people of Yugoslavia have shown under your leadership. We in India have faced different circumstances and have followed a different path. But many here have undergone like you the experience of long years of imprisonment and suffering in the cause of freedom. Both our countries have reached this goal of freedom through trial and tribulation and are now intent in preserving it and in adding to its content.

In our long past the contacts between our two countries, distant from each other, have not been great. But in the recent past and in the present, those contacts have grown because there has been much in common in our aims and ideals. We are both intent in building up our countries so as to promote the progress and happiness of our peoples. This process of building up and constructive endeavour, for us as for the rest of the world, requires the maintenance of peace. We are, therefore, wholly devoted to the cause of peace and co-operation among nations and we have striven to the utmost of our ability to reduce tensions between nations and encourage understanding and

*Speech on the occasion of the Banquet to President Tito, at Rashtrapati Bhavan, 18th December, 1954.

friendship among them. That has been your aim too and, therefore, there is this commonness in our outlook and endeavour in this great work for peace.

Every country has its own individuality, even though it may have much in common with other countries. Every country has been conditioned by its history and by its environment. Thus, there are differences between countries, but these differences in outlook or in political or social system need not and should not come in the way of co-operation. The only alternative to this co-operation between nations is conflict, and conflict today means something terrible to contemplate. Therefore, wise men have ruled out the idea of war in the circumstances that exist today. If war is to be ruled out, then the causes that lead to war should also be removed and what has been called the cold war should also not be encouraged. We know that fear, suspicion, and passionate resentment fill people's minds in many countries. It is not easy to deal with them. Nevertheless, if this world is to survive, we have to work continuously for peace and understanding between nations and for the removal of these fears and suspicions. In this great task we know that you, Sir, and your nation are vitally interested, even as we are. Indeed every sensitive and thinking human being, to whatever country he might belong, must necessarily be interested in this urgent task that faces humanity.

We look forward to increasing co-operation between our countries and your visit to India will undoubtedly help in strengthening the friendship between the two countries to their mutual advantage and for the promotion of peace and understanding among nations.

I trust that you and your distinguished colleagues will have a pleasant stay in our country and will see not only some monuments of our ancient past but also something of what we are doing today. These efforts of today absorb our attention because we are determined to build up this country and bring happiness and prosperity and equality of opportunity to all the people who dwell here.

I welcome you, Sir, again and your colleagues on behalf of the people and the Government of India and I should like you to convey on your return to Yugoslavia our greetings and friendly sentiments to your people and our hope that we shall live as friend and co-operate in the great tasks ahead.

*NEED FOR HELPING UNDER-DEVELOPED COUNTRIES.

MR. PRESIDENT, YOUR EXCELLENCIES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I am grateful to you for the very kind words you have said about India and her people and our efforts in the field of reconstruction at home and the establishment of peace and amity among nations of the world. We set great value to your words, coming as they do from a feeling of goodwill and friendly consideration.

You have been good enough to refer to free India's achievements in the sphere of agriculture, which has for centuries been the principal occupation of our people providing fruitful employment to about three-fourths of them, and to the various River Valley Projects. On assuming charge of administration of the country, our first anxiety was to develop the natural resources of our country with a view to increasing production and raising our people's standard of living. It was for this reason that we resorted to planned economy. We feel encouraged by your kind remarks as to our progress in that direction.

I welcome what you have said about the need for helping under-developed areas to come up to the level of other countries. I am at one with you that it is imperative that every member of the international community should view the development and progress of other members of the community as a matter of its own immediate concern. This concern for the backward and under-developed people is an inevitable corollary of scientific development and modern trends which have annihilated distance and, in a way, dimmed the boundaries of different countries. It is therefore, entirely in the interest of the world as a whole and every member of the comity of nations that every country should come up to a minimum level of development, and its people should have a minimum standard of living. The attainment of such improvement in the living conditions of under-developed countries is indeed a pre-requisite of what has been

*Reply to Marshal Tito's Toast at the Banquet in honour of Indian Leaders, 20th December, 1954.

called peaceful co-existence in a world with countries and nations having different ideologies, different systems of Government and different social set-up.

We are indeed very happy that your country has such a lofty ideal before her in her efforts in the United Nations. We whole-heartedly endorse your stand and look forward to mutual co-operation in the United Nations, which you have rightly described as one of the most fruitful areas of our mutual co-operation. Let me reiterate that there is much in common in the ideals, the aspirations and the policies of our two countries. This identity of aims and problems, namely, economic reconstruction of the country for ensuring prosperity and happiness of our people at home, and pursuing a policy of co-operation among nations for safeguarding peace in the world, is a guarantee of still greater co-operation and mutual goodwill and friendship between Yugoslavia and India.

I take this opportunity to thank Your Excellency, for your good wishes and the kind sentiments expressed by you for our Prime Minister's and my health and the welfare of the Indian people. I have great pleasure in reciprocating those sentiments. May I now drink to the health of Your Excellency, your distinguished colleagues and the people of Yugoslavia, and wish that the bonds of friendship and understanding already existing between our two peoples, may be further strengthened with every passing day?

*SHRI A. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR.

I am grateful for the opportunity which has been given to me of unveiling the portrait of one who has served the country during the very fruitful period of our history. It is as well to remind ourselves from time to time about the great services rendered by those who are no longer with us by holding such functions as this. We of the present generation are apt to forget the services rendered by great men in the past and it is likely that those who follow us might do the same. It is, therefore, necessary in the interest of the country as well as in that of each one of us that from time to time we get an opportunity of holding such functions. It would help the younger generation to acquaint itself with the services rendered by great men in the past.

Shri A. Rangaswami Aiyangar was one of those leaders who worked during the formative period of our political life, who worked for long and with great ability and devotion. It was my good fortune to come in contact with him not in the earlier days but in the later days in connection with the Congress, and I can say this from personal knowledge that his advice and his counsel were listened to with great respect because he was considered as one of those who had specialized in the study of public affairs and who were always able to give wise counsel whenever any problem required a solution. It was not only in Congress circles that he was respected: he reached a very much larger circle through the papers which he edited and, as you have pointed out, he moulded public opinion considerably through those papers, not because he followed any particular line but because he gave thought to all the problems, studied them and was able to express his opinion with firmness and deliberation. I find amongst Congress people, because of the peculiar conditions in which they have worked, there is not that desire for studying problems in detail, and very often they are apt to be carried away by opinions expressed by others without giving

*Speech made on the occasion of unveiling the portrait of the late Shri A. Rangaswami Aiyangar at the New Delhi Town Hall, New Delhi, 4th June, 1952.

full thought to all the considerations that come before them. As Congress people they have been engaged in a kind of work which required more action. Now times have changed and the example set by people like the late Shri A. Rangaswami Aiyangar should be followed and problems which come up for discussion should be studied in all their aspects and opinions formed on various questions. It is from that point of view that I attach great value to the lives of people.

But it is not only for that that Shri A. Rangaswami Aiyangar is respected. We know also his great devotion to the cause of the country, the sacrifices that he made, and the way in which he worked day and night for the country. I think we could have nothing better as examples for our own lives and I hope that the study of the lives of such men will serve as an example and a source of inspiration to posterity.

*RESPONSIBILITY OF ANDHRAS.

Please let me thank you sincerely for the honour you have done me by presenting to me these useful caskets and what is more, the words in which you have addressed me.

It is a matter of great gratification to me that I have been able to fulfil the promise to visit this place which I could not do some days ago on account of my unfortunate illness. Although late, I think you have excused me for that remissness and you have been pleased to receive me today, although late.

Vishakhapatnam has natural surroundings which would invoke envy in other towns and cities of this big country. Here we see coasts and mountains side by side, placed in such a beautiful conjunction that they not only beautify the place but also make it a place of great utility. It is for this reason that this place has become one of our great naval centres where we have got a shipyard where ships are being built and where the port is being developed. I hope, in course of time, it will become one of the great centres of trade in this country if it has not become so already. I have no doubt that, with the opening of the adjoining country with the railway that connects Vishakhapatnam with Raipur and with other openings which may come in course of time, all the great mineral wealth of the country which is hidden in the bosom of the earth in the near-by region will be exploited and India would become a great exporter of these mineral products, not minerals by themselves. I hope when these mineral products are processed and manufactured in this country and when that day comes, your port will play its own great part. It may not be in my life-time, but that does not matter, because after all man's life is limited and those of us who have seen 30 years or more of struggle for freedom and also seen a few years of Swaraj are quite content. If we can lay the foundation of a great edifice on it a great India will be built.

We have had a great and beautiful past of which we are naturally proud. But we are not content with the past, much

*Reply to the addresses of welcome presented by the District and Municipal Boards, Vishakhapatnam, 16th February, 1953.

less with the present. We are looking forward to the time when India will play a great part in the world and attain the position which will be second to none and in that building up of the country every State, in fact every individual has to play his part. It is well that your long-felt desire of having a separate State of your own is now going to be soon fulfilled. The decision to create an Andhra Province, as you know, has already been taken. But there are details which have to be worked out. Even in the partition in a small family there are many details which have to be worked out and which take some time. It is these details which are now being worked out and the Government of India is as keen as you are to have the State function as soon as possible. But there are difficulties which have to be surmounted and some of these difficulties are really such that unless the people cooperate to surmount them, it will be difficult for the Government alone to do so.

I am not speaking here for the Government because although I am supposed to be the Head of the State, I do not look upon myself only as such, if there is any distinction between the people and the personnel of the Government. I still look upon myself as one of the people although the position which I occupy sometimes compels me to do things which I do not like at all as, for example, pomp and ceremony and that kind of things. Still my heart is always with the people and, therefore, I am speaking to you with frankness. I know that the creation of a Province is coming to take place and I know also that there will be difficulties at the time of its creation as there are difficulties at the time of birth. At the time of birth there are various kinds of difficulties. Sometimes nursing of the child is required and all sorts of care had to be taken. You have to make arrangements for contingencies and things unanticipated have to be provided for. Therefore I say that a great deal depends upon you, Andhra friends, now when you have got a full-fledged Province. I say so because in running the administration of the Province which will now come into your hands, there will be no other partner who may have a share in it. So whether you are able to make up amongst yourselves all the differences which are unfortunately heard about or seen here will be your real test.

It will be a great thing if you do it. I am sure that will be a great day for Andhra Desh. I hope before the Province is actually created and begins to function, the differences will have been made up so that you can proceed with confidence and look forward to the future of a great Province.

I say this because I know that in the beginning there will be new difficulties. In all democracies there are parties and difference of opinion. They are natural because of the party system government in a democracy and these differences are bound to be in other States and the country as a whole. But I wish to impress upon you, if you permit me, that if the birth pangs are there, all of you should suppress your differences and put your shoulders together to make this great experiment a success and you must not have any reason to regret that you have for the time being suppressed yourselves or what some of you may hold as your conviction. That great experiment which is coming to take place will need, I have no doubt, all the resources and also the capacity and resourcefulness of the people, and their intelligence and all these will, when combined together in the interest of the people and in the interest of the country, I hope, stand the test, and if you will do that, you will be really making a great contribution which will be second to none in other Provinces.

I have no more message to give you because I know that at this time most of you are thinking of the creation of the new State. But I wish you to think of the difficulties also and how you will be able to conquer them. The way I have suggested will need all the strength, character and resourcefulness you may be able to put together. I thank you all once more for the honour that you have done me.

*THANKLESS TASK OF ADMINISTRATION.

I am indeed grateful to you for extending a kind welcome to me and for saying so many good things about me and my work. I shall ever cherish as a valuable treasure the kind sentiments that you have been good enough to express about me, although, familiar as I am with your State, I know something about its great traditions of hospitality and large-heartedness towards visitors.

It is highly gratifying to know that the State administration in general and the law and order position in particular, have improved lately since the suspension of the Constitution and subsequent assumption by the Centre of the responsibility of governing your State. I may tell you that taking over of the administration of a State by the Centre in the name of the President is always an unpleasant task and is resorted to only when conditions make it inevitable. In such a case in particular, administration is a thankless task. Those who run it have no business to expect any patting on the back. Even if they are lucky enough to give a good account of themselves, they might feel contented if there are no complaints or adverse criticism of their work.

It is, therefore, no small satisfaction to me to hear from you that the Adviser to His Highness the Rajpramukh, and all those who have been working with him, have made such a fine job of their assignment as to elicit a tribute from the public. I join you in congratulating them on this achievement. I am glad to know that the present Government has been able to achieve something tangible not only in the sphere of administration but also in the fields of Education, Public Health, Road-building, etc. Let me hope it is all for the betterment of the people of this State whose interests are the foremost consideration of my Government.

*Reply to the welcome address presented by the citizens of Patiala, 21st December, 1953.

With all this, no one has been more anxious than ourselves to terminate what is called the President's rule and replace it by a Government composed of elected representatives of the people. For that election is a preliminary step and we have decided to have it within the next three months. It is not unnatural for you to look forward eagerly to these forthcoming elections in your State. Your anxiety that these elections should be conducted in a peaceful atmosphere and with the utmost impartiality will not be taken amiss. Now that the law and order situation in PEPSU has shown palpable improvement, I hope that any fears some of you might have harboured about the conduct of elections, will now prove groundless. Although the election machinery devised for holding the first general elections in this country after Independence proved to be a highly efficient organization, which elicited praise not only in India but also from foreign countries, I believe, peaceful conduct of elections must necessarily depend on the co-operation of the electorate. From your keenness to have fair elections, I am inclined to believe that such co-operation from the people at large will be forthcoming unstintedly and the elections will be held without any untoward happening to the satisfaction of all.

I am sorry that the integration of Services led to some difficulties in your State. Integration and co-ordination, in the very nature of things, result in some dislocation at the initial stage. The moment the process of integration reaches the final stages, the effects of dislocation generally disappear. I trust that in your case also eventually the outcome should be an improvement on the previous position. I am sure, now that integration of Services has gone ahead a good deal, its benefits to the State administration and its people at large must be becoming obvious.

I am happy to know that there is so much of enthusiasm in your State for the Five-Year Plan and that its implementation is going apace. Success of our first Five-Year Plan is in the interest of the whole country of which PEPSU is a part, undoubtedly an important part.

It is good that you are alive to the fact that yours is a border State. Because of this fact some special responsibilities devolve upon you. You must remember that not far from where you live lies India's border. Any commotion in your State can lead to serious results involving the whole country. Your geographical position, if anything, should inspire in you a sense of unity, which should derive strength from the belief that the entire country is at your back and looks upon you as the nation's watchman.

The story of gradual progress and all-round improvement in the administration, which you have narrated, I have followed with great interest. I assure you that, although your State is being administered today in my name, none will be happier than myself to know that the President's rule has been replaced by a popular Government voted to power by representatives of the people.

I wish you all a happy and prosperous future, and once again thank you for the kind welcome you have accorded to me today .

*A NEW STATE IN THE UNION IS BORN.

I desire to offer you congratulations on your achieving success in the efforts which you have been making for more than a generation now. Today is a day of rejoicing for you. To those who do not like to go back to history of things, creation of a new province may appear only to be an administrative affair in its ultimate analysis, perhaps not deserving of much celebration or rejoicing. But I think you are right in considering it as a great occasion for rejoicing, not only because your long-cherished desire has been fulfilled, but because I do really believe it will open great vistas for you now to make progress and grow prosperous.

I come from a province which at one time formed part of another province and this province to which I belong was created a pretty long time ago when I was in my youth. I know the feelings which then prevailed amongst the people of my province before it was actually created into a separate unit. Within the last 42 years that that province has been existing it has made tremendous progress. It was fortunate that Mahatma Gandhi came on the scene soon after the creation of the province only when it was 6 or 7 years old, and it came under his guidance and inspiring influence at an early age. It has been the proud privilege not only of that province but I assure you of your province also. To get at the real thing, to know the country, to know really its problems, one has to understand the great events which took place during the last 32 or 33 years in your State. Hence I can also recall with pleasure and gratitude the great sacrifices made by your great leaders, the great organising capacity exhibited by them during the struggle for freedom.

There is only a word which I would wish you to take as a word of caution from one who is a friend. I know that you are an enthusiastic people. I know also that you have a good deal of sentiment for having an administration of your own. But I

*At the celebration of the inauguration of Andhra State at New Delhi, 1st October, 1953.



President addressing a New Delhi gathering on the occasion of the inauguration of Andhra State

would advise you to keep your sentiment under check and let yourself be guided by reason. It is necessary and I hope you will work in the new province taking everything into consideration. Your energy should not be wasted in projects which cannot be achieved today. The first thing for you to do is to make the province and the people stand on their own legs and that can be done, I have no doubt in my mind, even at this time. I think you will be able to make your administration a success because the province by itself is a good prosperous area and the land particularly fertile. You have, as was just now pointed out, good mineral resources and, above all, I may add, in addition to material resources you have valuable human material in abundance.

I hope by what I have said you would not mistake me. I want your sentiment also to develop because after all we live more by sentiment than by reason. But still when we have to run an administration, we cannot go by sentiment. We have to take into consideration the hard realities which we come across every day and every minute of our life. Therefore, I suggest that at the present moment you would think of nothing else; you should think of only one thing and that is how to run the administration successfully.

I have no doubt you will have the sympathy not only of the province out of which Andhra State has been carved, but also of the rest of the country, and also the co-operation of all the States in India and the Government of India. With all this support and with all this goodwill which you have now got, you should be able to run the administration successfully and make your own people prosperous. At the same time you cannot afford to forget that Andhra forms a part of India. Keeping no doubt your own welfare in view, you cannot afford to ignore the general well-being of the people of India as a whole. I am sure you will make a valuable contribution to the growth of the whole country and of your own province. I wish to congratulate you once again and I thank the organisers of this function for the great welcome they have extended to me on this occasion.

*WELCOME TO EVEREST HEROES.

It is a matter of great gratification to me that we have been able to meet this afternoon to show our appreciation and to do honour to the members of the British Expedition to Everest. Attempts to conquer Everest have been going on for a long time, and during the last 32 years no less than 11 expeditions were undertaken. It is the good fortune of this last expedition to achieve the conquest of the highest peak in the world. The work done, the knowledge gained and the experience acquired by the previous expeditions have all gone to make the present expedition successful and we owe it to them no less than to members of the present expedition for the great success that has been achieved.

Here is an example of team work which goes to show that with organization, with experience, with fearlessness and courage, there is nothing which the human mind and the human body and soul cannot achieve. We are therefore very happy that it has fallen to the lot of the present expedition to conquer Everest and we especially congratulate the leader who was responsible for organizing the expedition.

The two members who were selected to take the last lap were fortunate to reach the top, but the others too, did the duty which they were asked to perform and it is due to the team work of all that this great achievement has been made. Therefore, while I congratulate the leader and the two members who actually stood on the highest peak in the world, I congratulate also the other members who, by performing the work allotted to each of them, have all helped in bringing success.

Let us hope that this spirit of enterprise and adventure, of which the present expedition has set a great example, will continue to guide humanity not only for making this kind of conquest for, after all, it will not be of much use, but in making the greater and higher conquest of the human spirit which will

*Speech made at the time of reception to members of the British Everest Expedition and presentation of special medals to them, New Delhi, 29th June, 1953.



President awarding special medals to Mount Everest heroes

enable all of us to live in peace, to help each other in time of need and to live as members of one family.

There are in this expedition people from at least three or four countries. They have all worked together in a spirit of co-operation and friendliness and they have succeeded in making this great achievement. The same spirit of friendliness and helpfulness will enable the world to achieve peace which we need so much. Let us hope that we will achieve that peace as we have achieved the conquest of Mt. Everest. I congratulate the leader and the other members of the expedition on their great achievement.

*THE TRADITION OF TOLERANCE.

It has given me genuine pleasure to be present on this occasion and to take part in this function. When I was approached first to attend this function, I felt that it was my duty holding the position which I do, to join in all functions which bring back to us memories of the past although they might belong to particular groups only. As has been very aptly pointed out, here in this country we have a very old and long-standing tradition and that tradition is the tradition of tolerance, the tradition of living and letting others live in peace without interference, without in any way doing any harm to others simply because they choose to follow another faith. We have always believed that the mountain top can be reached by various paths and every man is free to get to the top by whichever path he likes; and it is in that sense that in India the Hindus have never insisted upon any dogma to be accepted and believed in by everyone. In other words, they have accepted every dogma as truth and they have allowed people to go in their own way so far as their thoughts, faiths or beliefs were concerned, although they have regimented their life to a great extent. It is on account of this tradition of tolerance that we see one apostle coming from an unknown land and settling down in India, preaching his faith, establishing his church and founding a large number of institutions for his followers and disappearing later. Hundreds of years later we find another batch of people belonging to another faith coming from their own land welcomed by the people of this country and allowed to settle down as honourable citizens of this great country. We have had contacts with other countries for centuries and I am not aware that there is one single instance of India having led a conquering army to another country. We have sent out our missionaries and our men of faith to other countries who have gone and preached there. We have received with open arms missionaries of other faiths from other lands and in that way our whole culture has been built up. It is necessary to remember all this these days when occasionally we hear of a certain thought of communalism

*On the occasion of the 19th Centenary Celebration of the visit of St. Thomas to India at the Constitution Club, New Delhi, 14th December, 1952.

gaining ground here or there. It is foreign to our culture, foreign to our tradition and I am hoping that it is only a passing phase and that even if it exists to any extent in this country, it will soon disappear and we shall be again ourselves, tolerant of each other, embracing one another in love and living happily as a single family.

It is no small tribute to the Christian Church that during these 1900 years it has flourished in this country where, although there was tolerance, no kind of force was used against them. They still had to fight ideologically against other faiths which had their own philosophy of life, their own concepts of religion and had developed to a very great extent their own way of living. That they should have lived and flourished is a great tribute to them: and it is not only to Christians but to people of other faiths also: and I say today that when in framing our Constitution we have guaranteed complete religious freedom, complete freedom not only to profess a faith but also to preach it and practise it, we have done nothing more than recording a fact centuries old. And although there may be occasions when we may find some ripples here and there, I say again that it is not a thing of our nature but something which for some reason or the other has made its appearance and will disappear soon.

I am sure everybody in this country believes that the freedom guaranteed by our Constitution is genuine freedom. It is not only a make-believe and so far as our Government is concerned, and I can say that so far as the better mind of our people is concerned, that guarantee not only stands but can claim and call for sacrifices on the part of others to maintain their faiths and maintain their beliefs. It is for that reason that I have found peculiar pleasure in being present here and joining in this celebration and also in giving you this assurance that in this country you will be as free as you can be anywhere else.

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